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Sixteenth-century stone slab with the coat of arms of Cluj, MNIT Collection.

ARTICLES AND STUDIES: HISTORIES OF CLUJ

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THE HOUSE OF GOLDSMITH MICHAEL LUTSCH. NEW DATA ON THE HISTORY OF A PRE-MODERN TOWN HOUSE IN CLUJ

MELINDA MIHÁLY*

Abstract: This study is dedicated to a building in downtown Cluj, located on the south side of today's Memorandumului Street. Although the edifice features many aspects of the stylistic evolution of the architecture of Cluj (it was built in Gothic style, with considerable changes that pertained to the Renaissance and then the Baroque styles), the history of the edifice is almost unknown in the literature of local history. Our study aims to provide a detailed description of the building, to outline the various stages of its construction, and to identify the people who animated its spaces and contributed to the history of the building.

Keywords: Cluj, dwelling house, printing house, Gothic architecture, Renaissance architecture, Baroque architecture, goldsmith

Rezumat: Studiul de față este dedicat unui imobil din centrul Clujului, aflat pe latura de sud a străzii Memorandumului de azi. Cu toate că edificiul prezintă numeroase aspecte ale evoluției stilistice a arhitecturii Clujului, fiind construit în stil gotic, cu modificări considerabile în stilul renașterii și apoi al barocului, istoricul edificiului este aproape necunoscut în literatura istoriei locale. Studiul nostru vizează descrierea detaliată a edificiului, conturarea diferitelor faze de construire, precum şi identificarea persoanelor care au animat spaţiile acestuia, contribuind la istoricul clădirii.

Cuvinte cheie: Cluj, casă de locuit, tipografie, arhitectură gotică, arhitectură renascentistă, arhitectură barocă, aurar

This study is dedicated to a house in downtown Cluj, which today stands out from the other buildings due to the pre-modern articulation elements of its main façade. Although the building has a series of structural or decorative elements from the medieval and pre-modern periods, including a drive-through gate marked with an inscription from 1653, a Late Renaissance portal, and a Baroque guild commemorative plaque, the history of the building is almost unknown in the literature of local history.

Our study focuses on the detailed description of the building, with a view to presenting its many stylistic aspects, outlining its various phases of construction, and identifying the people who animated its spaces and contributed, in one way or another, to the history of the building.

Description of the edifice

The building is located in the historical center of Cluj, on the south side of today's Memorandumului St. at no. 15. It is the third building to the west from the corner between

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Memorandumului St. and the present-day Ioan Rațiu St. The building is located on a relatively narrow plot, of approximately 10 meters wide. Initially, the plot could be accessed from Bishop Ioan Bob St., but the southern end of the lot was sold and closed with an annex in the period between 1859–1917 (Fig. 1).

The studied edifice is built on a rectangular, slightly irregular plane, on three levels (basement, ground floor, and first floor). A series of modern annexes were erected at the end of the lot.

The main façade of the building is articulated by a high plinth, a median band, and a richly profiled cornice (Fig. 2). The plinth is covered in limestone plates, featuring a well-outlined semi-torus at the top, which starts from a beveled surface, with a narrow listel and a semi-scotia (Fig. 3c). On the two sides of the drive-through gate the plinth is equipped with two vents of the basement, arranged in asymmetrical positions. The surface of the ground floor is smooth, that of the first floor being decorated with recessed rectangular panels between the openings. The ground floor is pierced by three axes of voids, by two windows and a drive-through gate, in the western axis. The windows are rectangular, with simple plaster borders, closed with white heat-insulating sash. The drive-through gate has a semi-circular closure, provided with a carved limestone frame, with a molding similar to that of the plinth, consisting of a semi-circular rod that starts from a beveled surface, a narrow listel, a semi scotia and a narrow last listel (Fig. 3a, 3b). The molding of the frame starts from a relatively great height, from 180 and 187 cm respectively, from a beveled surface. Where the arch of the gate comes to a close, there is a Renaissance shield, outside the plane of the molding, marked with the *GML* monogram, framed by the year 1653 (Fig. 4). The shield is equipped with a molding border featuring a listel. Its surface still retains traces of the initial colors, the monogram being painted in red and the figures of the year in black. The four windows upstairs are rectangular, fitted with flat-band plaster borders. The windows are crowned with profiled cornices and friezes decorated with garlands of bay leaves, fixed at ends with spherical rivets. The window sills are profiled with a semi-baguette and two listels, their moldings being gradually retreated at the ends. The surfaces bounded by the windowsill and the median band are decorated with gradually recessed rectangular panels.

The façade of the building facing the courtyard has a sober appearance, being articulated only by the plastered plinth. The levels of the ground floor and the first floor are delimited by a slight retraction of the upstairs façade plan (Fig. 5). The plinth of the façade is fitted with a basement vent, on the western side of the façade. The ground floor is pierced by the entrance with a semi-circular closure of the entrance gangway, and also by a rectangular window, east of the gangway. The second window on the ground floor is covered by the building annex. The first floor of the courtyard façade is provided with three openings. One of these is a rectangular window in the eastern axis, and in each of the western and central axes there is a wide window with a semi-circular, Baroque-style closure. We may assume that initially the two semi-circular openings formed open arches towards a corridor. A commemorative plaque made of limestone lies between the two windows with semi-circular closure. The plaque is preserved only partially, as the lower corners are intersected by the flat-band frames of the windows. The bottom of the plaque, originally intended for the commemorative inscription, is chipped and partially covered with plaster.

The upper part of the plaque represents a pair of rampant lions, with the heads turned towards the sides of the plaque. The lions hold the crest of the Drapers' Guild, surmounted by an open crown. The year of manufacture is engraved above the lions' heads: 1764 (Fig. 6, 7).[1]

The gangway of the entrance gate is covered with a semi-cylindrical vault, with penetrations in the axes of the openings (Fig. 8). At the southern end of the gangway, on the west side, there is a subsequent construction, intended for the stairwell leading to the first floor. The ground level of the gangway has a steep slope near the gate, the level difference between the southern and northern ends of the gangway being approx. 130 cm. On the eastern side of the gangway there is a row of openings to the rooms on the ground floor, made in various construction phases of the building. The first opening from the street is a Late Gothic portal, followed by two other rectangular doors, without frames. The last in the series is that providing access to the basement, fitted with a Baroque limestone frame. Between the first three entrances of the gangway there are two rectangular niches intended for external supply of the stoves.

The oldest architectural element of the building is certainly the Gothic portal, situated at a height of 66 cm from the current ground level and provided today with a ramp plated with sandstone tiles. The portal has a specific Late Gothic frame, featuring cross baguettes in the upper corners, with the lintel supported on consoles (Fig. 10). The portal upright pillars, provided with polygonal bases, are profiled with a scotia, a semi-baguette, a scotia, two high-relief listels, a scotia, a semi-baguette, a scotia (Fig. 11). The edges of the frame are beveled. The molding of the two semi-baguettes starts in a torsade from the pedestals, the pedestal of one of the doubled listels being decorated with a recessed panel. The portal is preserved only fragmentarily, part of the molding having been destroyed when the opening was widened, so the inner semi-baguette and the scotia is missing from the left upright pillar. The same moldings are missing from the portal lintel. As for the protruding moldings of the portal, the outer semi-baguettes are crossed in the upper corners. The other two are those which are arched towards the inside of the opening and form the specific consoles of the Late Gothic frames. When the opening of the portal was widened, these consoles were destroyed. Only the arched start of the right side of the molding is preserved. The two feed holes of the gangway stoves are provided with Baroque-style rectangular limestone frames, with a listel molding on the edges. The last opening in the gangway is the entrance of the basement, bordered by a limestone frame, with a closure shaped like a circle segment, the edge of the frame being profiled with a striated listel, specific to the Late Baroque style.

The ground floor plan of the building is relatively simple. It consists of three rooms, positioned along the north-south axis. The western part of the building is entirely occupied by the entrance gangway (Fig. 10). In the south-west corner of the gangway there is a later construction: it was intended for the stairwell, which leads to the upper floor spaces. In

[1] The plaque was drawn by Lajos Pákei, chief architect of the city on the cusp between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The drawing features the complete image of the tile, which can be a document of the initial state, but it could also be an addition invented by the architect. In the drawing the crest of the Drapers' Guild is framed by a recessed panel with semicircular closure. The upper corners of the plaque are decorated with a rosette each, and in the lower part there is a recessed narrow panel with flaring corners, without an inscription. The date of the plaque is incorrectly drawn, because instead of 1764, in Pákei it displays the year 1664.

the gangway of the initial entrance there was an old granary, which disappeared during a renovation in the mid-twentieth century.[2] The ground floor room facing the street is a space specific to the Renaissance period, covered with a semicylindrical vault with three penetrations on the sides, supported by gradual Late Renaissance consoles (Fig. 11). The edges of the vault penetrations, fitted with a listel, meet in the center of the vault canvas. At the intersection of the central edges, the vault is decorated with a circular vault key, equipped with a profiled border with a semi-torus. In the field of the vault key is the relief of a goblet, framed by two *Knorpelwerk* motifs. On the south side of the room is placed the most representative decorative element of the room, namely a Late Renaissance portal carved from limestone.

The portal consists of upright pillars and an entablement, with a classical structure, consisting of an architrave, a frieze and a canopy (Fig. 12, 13). The portal's upright pillars are articulated with tall pedestals decorated with rosettes and grooved pilasters, equipped with bases profiled with listel, cyma reversa and listel and with capitals profiled with listel, semi-baguette, listel, cyma reversa and listel. The pedestal is profiled with cyma recta, listel, high-relief baguette, listel, semi-baguette, listel, baguette, broad listel, decorated with rosette, baguette, listel, and cyma recta. The frieze is separated from the architrave by a band with the section of a listel. A maxim in Latin is carved in capital letters on the architrave of the portal: *FIDE SED CVI VIDE* ('Trust, but be careful whom you trust!'). The central element of the frieze consists of the monogram *GML* and the year 1654, engraved in the field of a Renaissance shield decorated with volutes, the shield being flanked by two rosettes. The canopy of the portal is prominent, profiled with listel, high-relief semi-baguette, decorated with a row of ovolos, listel, narrow baguette, listel, cyma recta decorated with a string of leaves and listel. The lintel is accentuated on the flanks. All three structural elements, the architrave, the frieze and the canopy jut out from the plane of the entablement. The frieze is decorated in flanks with an acanth leaf, accentuated with guttae, in the flanks of the frieze. The door leaf is specific to the Baroque style, articulated with recessed rectangular panels, which still retains its hinges and its original closing system today.

The other rooms of the ground floor are equipped with semi-cylindrical vaults, the one facing the courtyard being subsequently divided into two distinct spaces.

The most complex planimetry of the building is preserved at the level of the basement. Its entrance opens from the gate gangway. The threshold of the frame is 25 cm deep from the current ground level of the gang, caused by its rise to the south side. The basement mostly follows the planimetry of the ground floor, so it is clear that there is a primary division in two sections with the longitudinal axis facing north-south. The basement masonry is built entirely of quarry stone (limestone), the rooms being covered in most areas with semi-cylindrical stone vaults. This structure was subsequently modified on several occasions, the western section being divided into two parts, forming two narrower sections bounded by arches with semicircular closure. The two rooms in the northwest corner of the basement are bounded by an arcade with a Baroque-style circle closure, the opening of the arch being built of brick. These two spaces are covered with vaults supported by metal rails, built of brick, specific to the last quarter of the nineteenth century and

[2] Kelemen 1982, 138, 360; Lőwy, Demeter, Asztalos 1996, 93. Today a similar granary is preserved on 17 M. Kogălniceanu St.

the early twentieth century. The rooms in the south-west corner of the basement have undergone further division, the two spaces to the east being equipped with three arches with a Baroque circle closure, supported on two massive central pillars, plastered, built for supporting the stairwell. The room in the south-east corner of the basement was also divided into three smaller spaces during the Baroque era. The first space is the narrow corridor, with the longitudinal axis oriented on the east-west axis, intended for the entrance staircase to the basement, equipped with steps carved from limestone. The area north of the corridor is also divided into two separate spaces, by two arches with semicircular closure, supported on massive limestone pillars. All three above spaces are covered with semi-cylindrical quarry stone vaults. The oldest basement room, built of quarry stone and covered with semi-cylindrical stone vaults, was preserved in the northeast corner (Fig. 14). The basement today preserves two limestone frames, semicircular closure, with a beveled edge. The first framework is the one that communicates between the entrance staircase corridor and the next narrow space (Fig. 15). The second limestone frame is the one that provides access to the room from the south-east of the basement to the central room of the central section. It is in a good state of preservation, allowing some observations, such as starting the beveled edge from a beveled surface specific to Gothic architecture. Its surface retains several whitewashed layers, which proves that the frame is probably in a secondary position, having been taken from the living spaces on the ground floor. On the north side of the northern wall of the entrance corridor, the contour of an opening is preserved: it was probably the initial entrance from the gangway. Also, in the north-east space, on the north and west walls, the outline of some walled-in vents is preserved. They had access to the street and to the gangway of the gate, indicating the fact that in the first phase the house had no basement under the gangway. Several reused architectural elements can be seen in the masonry of the basement, such as a fragment of the mullion of a Gothic window, profiled on the sides with a cavetto. The other reused architectural elements probably come from the Renaissance frames, which are built in with the molding turned towards the thickness of the masonry.

The staircase is a modest, narrow construction with wooden steps (Fig. 16). The first-floor plan of the building mostly follows the ground floor planimetry, being composed of rooms grouped in two sections. The one to the east is almost identical to the division of the ground floor. The western section, located above the gangway, also consists of three rooms, of which the central one and the one facing the courtyard were subsequently divided into several spaces in order to ensure access to different commercial spaces, as well as their toilets. The two representative rooms of the building, facing the street, as well as those facing the courtyard, are ceilinged (Fig. 17), the central spaces being equipped with Bohemian calottes.

In 2008 there was another fragment of the Renaissance frame in the courtyard of the building, profiled with listel, baguette, listel, cyma and a listel decorated with a row of denticles (Fig. 18).

The history of the building

The two sides of Memorandumului Street were formed during the medieval period, when the street network of medieval Cluj was outlined. This street is one of the main arteries

of the new city, formed outside the Old Citadel in the 1270s, following the colonization of a population of German *hospites*, at the initiative of King Stephen V. In the literature, this colonization is considered the promoter of the formation of the Central Square and the street network of the historic center of Cluj. This process probably took place in the last two decades of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. Starting in the second half of the fourteenth century, the most important streets of the historical center were documented, demonstrating that an urban structure very similar to the current one had been formed in this period, at the latest. The southern side of the street was probably formed in a first phase. This was followed by the series of houses on the north side, built in the ditch of the Old Fortress at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, following the loss of its defensive role, after the construction of the second medieval fortified enclosure of the city.[3]

The investigated building is located inside the second medieval fortified enclosure of Cluj. The historical name of this street is Mănăşturului Street, the name alternating in documents with that of *Platea Rapularum* ('Turnip St.'). The street from the medieval period was the main artery leading from the centre of Cluj to Cluj-Mănăştur. The first written mention dates back to 1436, in the form *Monostorwcha*, when several citizens from Cluj, from the Hungarian St., Middle St., Wolf St., Mănăşturului St. and Turzii St. sent four messengers to King Sigismund of Luxembourg.[4]

The oldest tax register of Cluj, dating from 1453 and compiled according to the Hungarian custom, mentioned the part inside and outside the fortified enclosure (*[Platea] Rapularum intra muros*, *Rapularum extra murum*) for the first time, the length of the street exceeding the perimeter of the fortified enclosure during this period.[5]

Regarding the name *Platea Rapularum*, used in the medieval and pre-modern periods, in parallel with the name *Platea Monostor*, historian and archaeologist János Herepei advanced a hypothesis that the name of the street probably derived from a toponymy referring to a missing village, which in the early medieval period was situated on the road between Cluj and Cluj-Mănăştur.[6]

Based on the medieval urbanistic evolution of the city, it can be stated that in the first phase was certainly a Gothic building on the investigated plot. It probably had a basement and a ground floor, built during the fourteenth century. From this period no architectural element has survived to this day. The earliest datable details of the building were created in the last three decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. These architectural elements are the two frames with semicircular closure in the basement, the mullion of a Gothic window, subsequently recessed into the basement masonry, the drive-through gate and the plinth of the main façade. Based on the analogies, we may assume that the Gothic window mullion comes from a rectangular, bipartite window frame, divided into four meshes by a cross-shaped mullion. Such examples are still preserved today in the city on the side façade of the house in Unirii Square no. 18, as well as on the side façade of the house on 10 Eroilor Blvd. The two rooms of the original basement facing

[3] Entz 1996, 83, 343, 353, 354.

[4] Entz 1996, 83, 354.

[5] Kovács 2018, 181–212.

[6] Herepei 2004, 150–157.

the street are preserved from the Gothic period, in the eastern section. The other section, located in the western part of the house, under the gangway of the entrance, was built later.

From this stage of construction comes the Late Gothic portal. It leads from the gangway of the entrance to the first room facing the street. It is decorated with a rich molding with cross baguettes, specific to the last three decades of the fifteenth century. Cluj analogues of this type of portal are located in Unirii Square no. 15–16, no. 19, Memorandumului St. no. 19 and Eroilor Blvd. no. 15. The only dated example of this series is the one located in the central square of the Roman Catholic parish. Built in 1477, it must have been the prototype of this type of portal according to the art historian Szilárd Papp.[7]

The edifice retains several architectural elements specific to the Late Gothic or the Early Renaissance, with a combined molding. Although the drive-through gate of the building is considered in the literature an architectural element specific to the Late Renaissance,[8] its molding, carved on a beveled surface, is specific to the Gothic, allowing an earlier dating, to the late fifteenth century or the early sixteenth century. We may assume that the Renaissance shield was subsequently inserted into the structure of the gate. The same molding can be observed on the plinth of the main façade, with carved molding on a beveled surface, peculiar to the Late Gothic.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, between 1653–1654, the building was modified in the Late Renaissance style: the ground-floor room facing the street acquired a semi-cylindrical vault with penetrations and a carved portal. On the same occasion, the drive-through gate was built, featuring the monogram of the owner (*GML*) and the year 1653, subsequently inserted into the structure of the Late Gothic drive-through gate. The closest Cluj-Napoca analogues of the portal from 1654 are the portal from 1636 on the floor of the house on Unirii Square no. 20[9] and the portal of the Reformed parish on M. Kogălniceanu St., built in 1651 and marked with the *BA* monogram.[10] The similar elements of these portals are the identical structure of the entablement, decorated with rosettes and an acanth leaf on the flanks. The architrave is delineated from the frieze and the canopy through a high-relief listel. Another example is the fragment of a portal from the lapidarium of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, decorated with a carved acanth leaf on a grooved background, accentuated with a string of guttae.

The city's tax records preserve information regarding the number of owners of the building in the pre-modern period. Thus, it is possible to identify those who contributed to the changes of the edifice in this era. Between 1637 and 1642 the house was owned by Benedek Szabó's orphan, who did not live in this building. During these years the names of the young Pitter Werner and János Kékesi were mentioned as tenants of the house.[11] During this period, changes can be observed only as regards the tenants of the building. In 1638 Pitter Werner's place was taken by Mihály Patócsi,[12] whose name was removed from the list of tenants next year.[13] The next change regarding the number of owners of the

[7] Entz 1996, 82, 117, 337, 350, 352; Papp 2008, 29–30.

[8] Kovács 2003, 38.

[9] Mihály 2008.

[10] Weisz 2018, 166, 171.

[11] SJC AN, Cărţile de impozit, 22/III.608, 22/II.630, 22/III.667, 23/III.7.

[12] SJC AN, Cărţile de impozit, 22/III.630.

[13] SJC AN, Cărţile de impozit, 22/III.667.

building occurred in 1642, when it was owned by two persons, Hannes Werner and Paul Werner, probably brothers, who inherited the edifice.[14]

The constructions in the style of the Late Renaissance of 1653–1654 were certainly due to the goldsmith Michael (Mechl) Lutsch. Michael was probably the son of the tailor Johann Lutsch, who was the head of the Tailors' Guild in Cluj in 1607 and 1628.[15] In 1634 Michael buried his 3-year-old daughter, Kisanna, in the Central Cemetery.[16] Michael was admitted to the Goldsmiths' Guild of Cluj in 1633.[17] He also received the highest position in the Goldsmiths' Guild, that of guildmaster.[18] Michael Lutsch was also present in the local administration of the city. In 1659 and 1665 he was a member of the centumvirs of the city.[19] The goldsmith was of Unitarian faith, as were most of the inhabitants of the city at that time. Towards the end of his life he held the position of sacristan of the Saxon Unitarian Church. He died on May 23, 1676, and was buried on 27 May, according to the canons of Unitarian religion.[20] His name appeared for the first time among the owners of this house only in 1656,[21] because the tax records of the Mănăștur St. quarter from the period 1650–1655 have not survived the passage of time. We assume that the third component of the GML monogram comes from the surname Goldschmidt, used during this period to distinguish persons with the same name by the name of their profession.[22] The goldsmith's name appears for the first time in the tax register in 1638 at another building on Mănășturului St., this being the fourth house on the corner of Kötő St. (today Ioan Rațiu St.), on the south side, in the eastward direction.[23] Between 1647 and 1656 the goldsmith relinquished this house, becoming the owner of two other houses, probably after an exchange: these were the second and third buildings to the west, on the corner of Kötő St. (today Ioan Rațiu St.), on the south side.

The series of the first four houses located west of the corner of Kötő St. in the last two decades of the seventeenth century was of particular importance for the history of the Unitarian religion in Transylvania. The first building, owned by Péter Köpeczi, was bequeathed to the Unitarian Church in Cluj in 1697, after the forced cession of Saint Michael parish church to the Roman Catholic church in 1716, thus becoming one of the prayer houses of this community.[24] The second and third buildings were owned by Michael Lutsch in 1647–1656. After his death in 1676, on 11 September 1679, the second building from the corner was purchased by the Unitarian priest András Jövedécsi from Michael Lutsch's heir, Kata Szász.[25]

[14] SJC AN, Cărțile de impozit, 24/XIII.5.

[15] Herepei 1988, 183.

[16] The funeral inscription is known, but the monument is not preserved today. Herepei 1988, 183.

[17] Flóra 2003, 58.

[18] Jakab 1888, 498, 686.

[19] Binder 1982, 304, 306.

[20] Benczédi 1886, 355.

[21] SJC AN, Cărțile de impozit, 29/II.7.

[22] One such example in premodern Cluj is also the case of the gold exchanger, Petrus Filstih, who was referred to by the tax directors with the attribute of *Auricampsor,* so as to distinguish him from the goldsmith Petrus Filstih, nicknamed *Goldschmidt*. See Mihály 2002–2003 (2005), 360.

[23] SJC AN, Cărțile de impozit, 22/III.635.

[24] Rácz 2016, 312.

[25] Rácz 2016, 312.

The third house from the corner, which is the subject of this study, was owned by Michael Lutsch for three decades.[26] In 1676, after Lutsch's death, the house remained the property of his widow, née Sophia (Jozefa) Dési Szabó. The widow passed away in 1686.[27] On October 28, 1686, the building was bought by András Kmita and his wife Christina Wilhelm for 1,000 forints from her heirs, the widow of the priest András Jövedécsi, Borbála and Margit Pál, and Zsófia Kornicz.[28] This house was important because it was positioned between the house of the Unitarian priest András Jövedécsi and the home of the preacher of the Polish Unitarians, András Lachovius (Andrzej Łachowski), which was also his home.[29]

Christina Wilhelm married the merchant András Kmita in 1674 while she was still in Poland. They then settled together with her husband in Cluj after their banishment from Poland.[30] The settlement of Polish Unitarians in Cluj began after the Polish Diet of 1658, where it was decided that all Unitarians in the country had to convert to the Roman Catholic religion by July 10, 1660, for otherwise they would have to leave their country. Following this decree, a large number of Unitarians converted to the Roman Catholic religion, but some of them chose the path of refuge, emigrating to Prussia, England, the Netherlands and Transylvania. The latter settled in Cluj, forming a religious community distinct from those of the Hungarian and Saxon Unitarians. However, during the eighteenth century they gradually became Hungarian, integrating into the Unitarian Church in 1793, through their union with the Unitarian parish of Cluj. After the death of András Kmita in 1688, his widow continued to live in this building. Christina Wilhelm is the one who established the printing house of the Polish Unitarian Church in her own home, or in an annex building on her plot, acquiring from Vienna all the tools needed for a printing house.[31] The widow also took care of hiring a printer, in the person of Mihály Liszkai.[32] This was one of the two Unitarian printing houses in late seventeenth-century Transylvania. After the monopoly of the Reformed Church over the printing houses in Cluj, the printing house of the András Kmita's widow was the first and only one that ensured the printing of all religious works necessary for the Unitarian liturgy. It also printed literary or scientific works.[33] After the death of András Kmita's widow in 1703, the printing house ceased its brief activity, and her son, János Kmita, gave it up.[34] On this occasion, the printing house was moved into St. Michael's church, which was still owned by the Unitarian parish at that time. The printing house was then taken over by the Imperial army, which also participated in the takeover of the church in 1716.[35]

Returning to the fate of this house, in 1703, after the death of András Kmita's widow, it was inherited by her only son, János Kmita, the only surviving son of her three children.

[26] Tax books, 29/II.7, 29/XIV.7, 33/VII.7, 32/XXV.4, 33/XXVII.3, 33/XXVIII.3, 34/X.4.

[27] Michael Lutsch's widow was the mother of Cluj chronicler Peter Broser, probably born in a previous marriage: Bálint et alii 1990, 219; Herepei 1988, 184.

[28] Rácz 2016, 313; Molnár 2018, 103.

[29] Molnár 2018, 103.

[30] Molnár 2018, 103.

[31] Jakab 1895, 331–341; Kénosi Tőzsér, Uzoni Fosztó 2009, 293. Molnár 2018, 105; V. Ecsedy 2014, 175.

[32] Molnár 2018, 104.

[33] Molnár 2018, 100.

[34] See the consent given by the curators of the Unitarian Church to János Kmita on October 6, 1707, regarding the printing house: Illésy 1903, 149.

[35] Kénosi Tőzsér, Uzoni Fosztó 2009, 716.

He travelled to Andreaswalde (Kosinowo) in 1695, and after returning to Transylvania he became the archivist of the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur. He probably died in 1742.[36] In 1746 the house was owned by the widow of János Kmita, born Judit Dési. She inherited a mortgaged building, with debts to the Unitarian Church.[37]

In the second half of the eighteenth century the building was owned by the Sombori family. In 1750 the house was owned by József Sombori,[38] in 1759 by István Sombori,[39] probably the son of the previous one, and between 1778 and 1796 by the craftsman János Sombori.[40] This period coincided with the transformation of the building in a Baroque style, marked with the building plaque of 1764, decorated with the crest of the Drapers' Guild on the courtyard façade of the first floor. On this occasion, the main façade of the building was remodeled, acquiring a specifically Baroque articulation, with recessed rectangular panels, which delimited windows with Baroque frames. During this period, the current entrance to the basement was opened and provided with a Baroque limestone frame. Some rooms upstairs were also modified, being covered with Bohemian vaults. The city's tax registers of 1796 mentioned the number of chambers in the building, which already outlined the planimetry of the present-day house. It had three rooms on the ground floor, two of which were vaulted and two smaller vaulted rooms. Upstairs the building was equipped with four rooms and a pantry. The house was equipped with a kitchen both on the ground floor and upstairs, and the basement could fit 20 barrels of wine. At the end of the plot there was a stone stable for six horses, a wooden stable for four horses, as well as a draper's workshop.[41]

In the second half of the nineteenth century the building was owned by the Armenian family Vertán. In the register of the inhabitants of Cluj the name of the owner Tódor Vertán was recorded in 1869, and that of György Vertán in 1900. We assume that during this period the stairwell was dismantled and that the current one was built from the entrance gangway, supported on arches closing in circle segments in the basement.

During the nineteenth century Mănășturului St. was levelled by deepening the southern side, which made it possible for the foundation of the houses to become visible. This is why the frames of the main façade are located on such a high level. We assume that the carved plywood of the façade's plinth was moved on the same occasion, in order to cover the foundations. Today the level difference is still preserved in the entrance gangway, the southern end of the gangway being elevated by 25 cm.

[36] Kovács 2011, 371.

[37] Molnár 2018, 108.

[38] Szabó T. 1983, 7.

[39] *Libellus Aestimationis Domorum Liberae Regiaeque Civitatis Claudiopolis pro Anno Militari 1758/9 confectus,* Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Oszágos Levéltára, Erdélyi Országos Kormányhatósági Levéltárak, Vegyes concriptiók (F49), fasc. 17, no. 3, 4–5. (I thank Zsolt Kovács for the information).

[40] *Aestimatio et Classificatio Domorum in Civitate Claudiopolitana existentium,* Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Oszágos Levéltára, Erdélyi Országos Kormányhatósági Levéltárak, Vegyes concriptiók (F49), fasc. 17, no. 3, 3. The funerary monument of János Sombori in the Central Cemetery was published by János Herepei: Herepei 1988, 495–496. (I thank Zsolt Kovács for the information).

[41] *Az Nagy Erdéllyi Fejedelemségben Nemes Szabad Kolosvár Királyi Várossában tanáltato és azokbul szállásul kiszakaszthato alkalmatosságoknak Laistroma.* Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Oszágos Levéltára, Erdélyi Országos Kormányhatósági Levéltárak, Vegyes concriptiók (F49), fasc. 17, no. 20, 51. (I thank Zsolt Kovács for the information).

The building was renovated several times during the twentieth century, when the Gothic portal of the entrance gangway was discovered, having been walled in during the previous period. The granary of the house disappeared from the entrance gangway on the same occasion. In 2008–2020, the fragment of the Renaissance frame, decorated with a string of denticles, disappeared from the courtyard.

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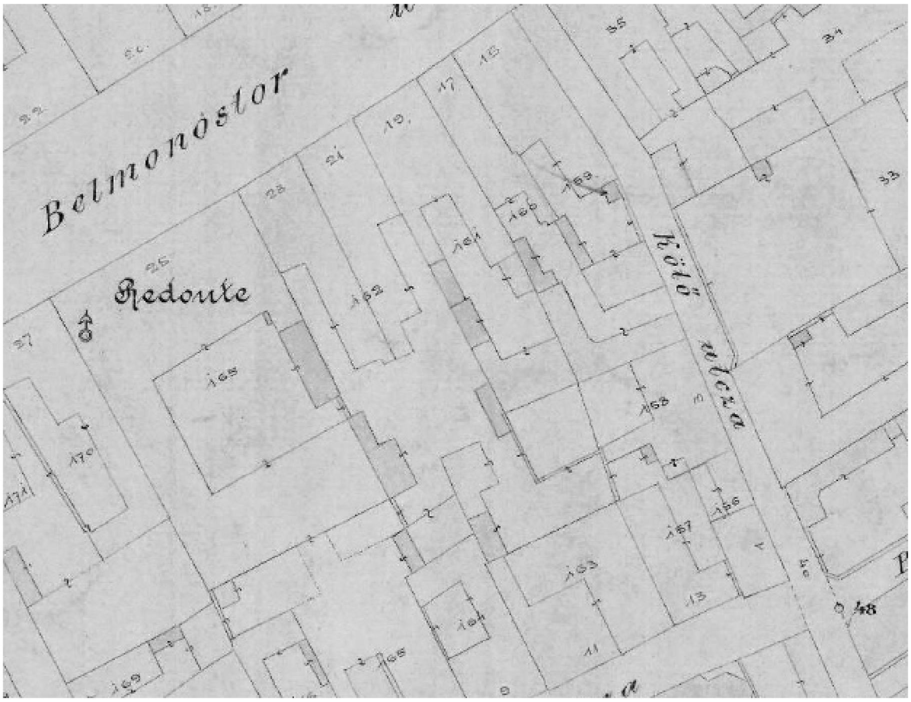
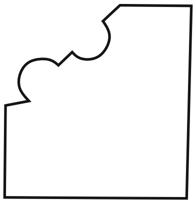


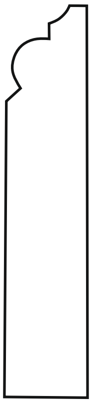
Fig. 1. The plot of the house on a 1917 cadastral map of Cluj (19 *Belmonostor* St.) (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, Budapest, Térkép-, Plakát- és Kisnyomtatványtár, TK 404/1).

Fig 2. The main façade of the building (photo by M. Mihály).

a.



b.



c.

Fig. 3. a. The drive-through gate; **b.** section of the arch; **c.** section of the plinth (photo and drawings by M. Mihály and D. Gheorghe Șerban).

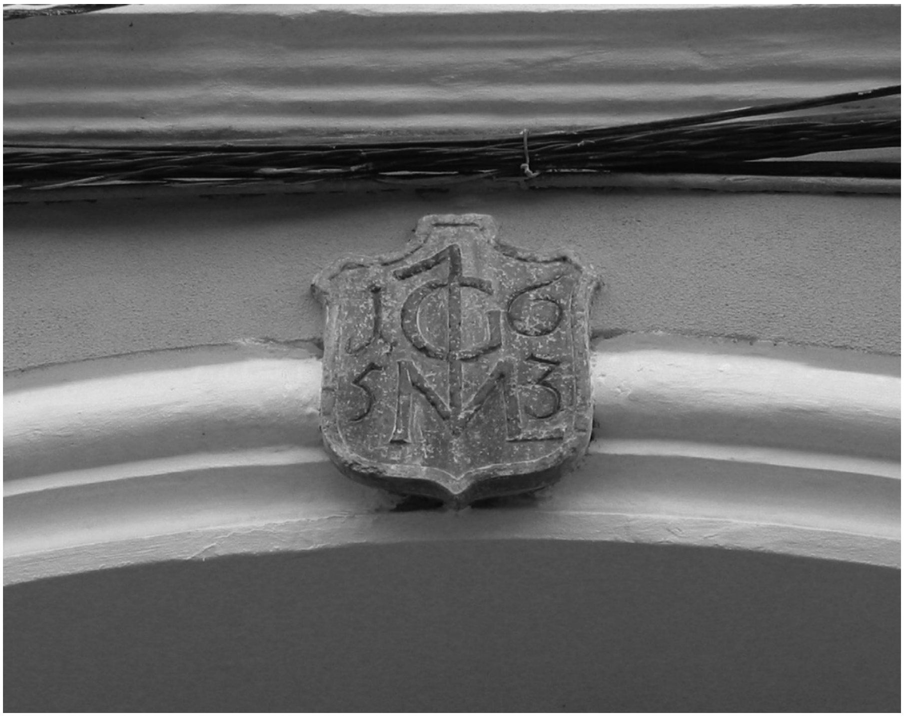


Fig. 4. Monogram of the drive-through gate (photo by M. Mihály).

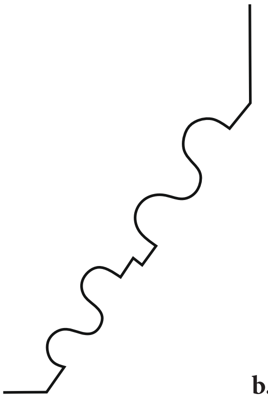
Fig. 5. Façade of the building facing the yard (photo by M. Mihály and D. Gheorghe Şerban).

Fig. 6. The crest of the Drapers' Guild on the courtyard façade (photo by M. Mihály).

Fig. 7. The crest of the Drapers' Guild, drawing by architect Lajos Pákei, 1918 (Balogh 1944, pl. XXVII).

Fig. 8. Gangway of the drive-through gate (photo by M. Mihály).

a.



b.

Fig. 9. a. Late Gothic portal in the gangway; **b.** section of the Late Gothic portal (photo and drawing by M. Mihály and D. Gheorghe Șerban).

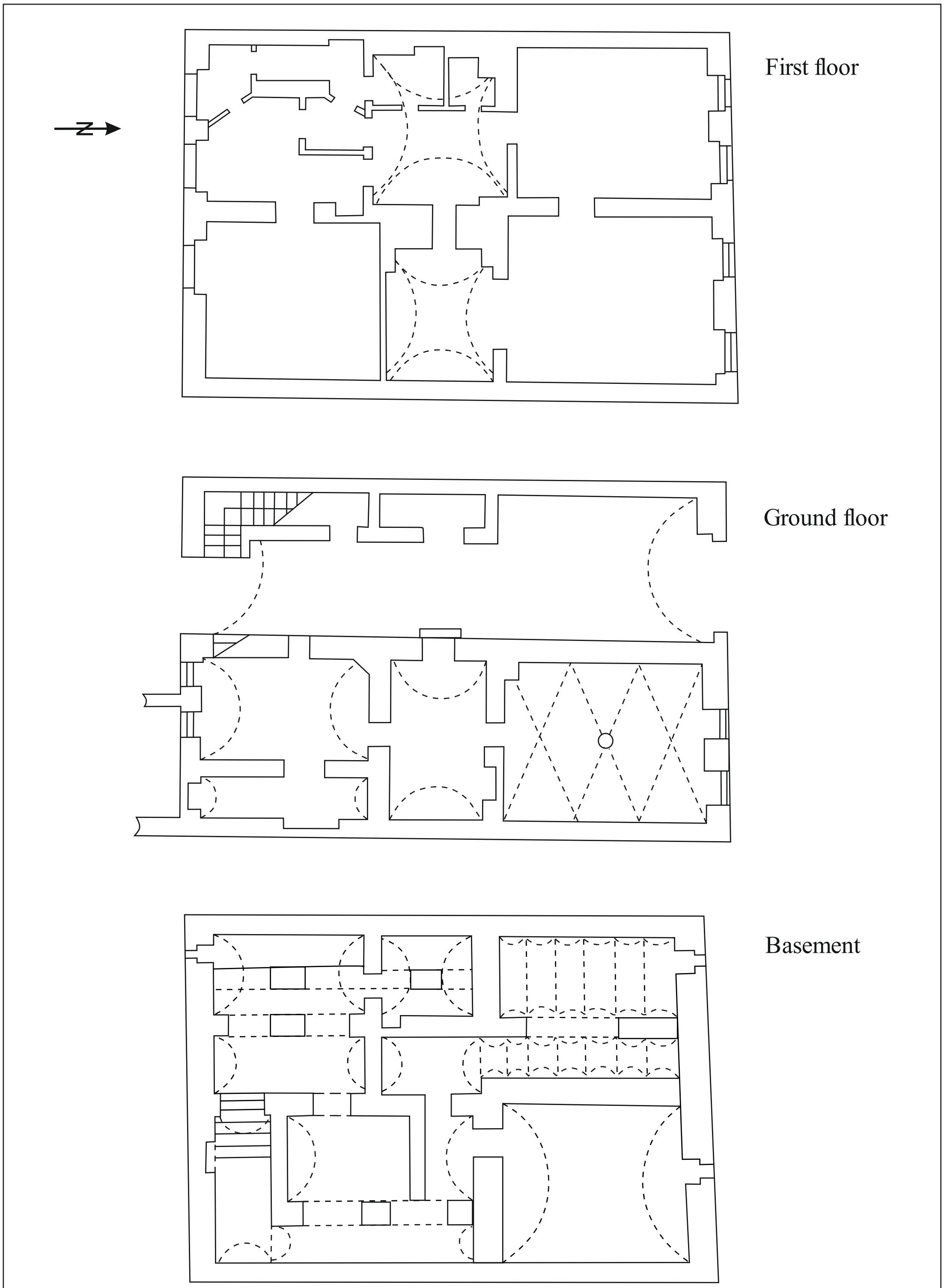


Fig. 10. Ground plan of the building: basement, ground floor, first floor (Fundația de Istoria Culturii 'Géza Entz,' Collection of the architect Adrian Giurgiu, blueprint 1960s–1970s, with corrections by M. Mihály).

Fig. 11. Ground floor room facing the street (photo by M. Mihály).

Fig. 12. Renaissance portal in the ground-floor room facing the street
(photo taken by József Sebestyén, 2003).

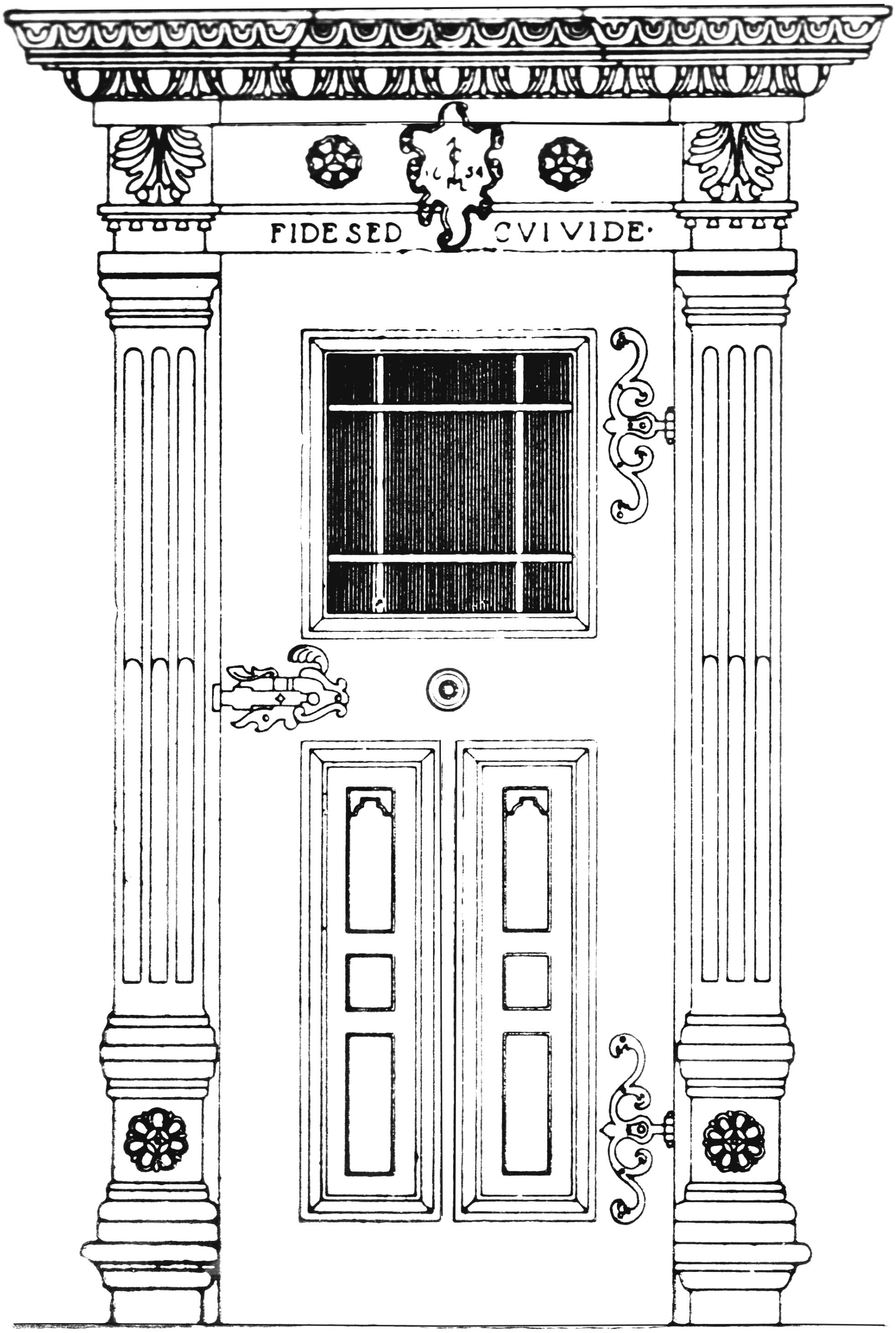


Fig. 13. Renaissance portal in the ground-floor room facing the street, drawing by architect Lajos Pákei, 1918 (Balogh 1944, pl. XXVII).

Fig. 14. The oldest basement room (photo by M. Mihály).

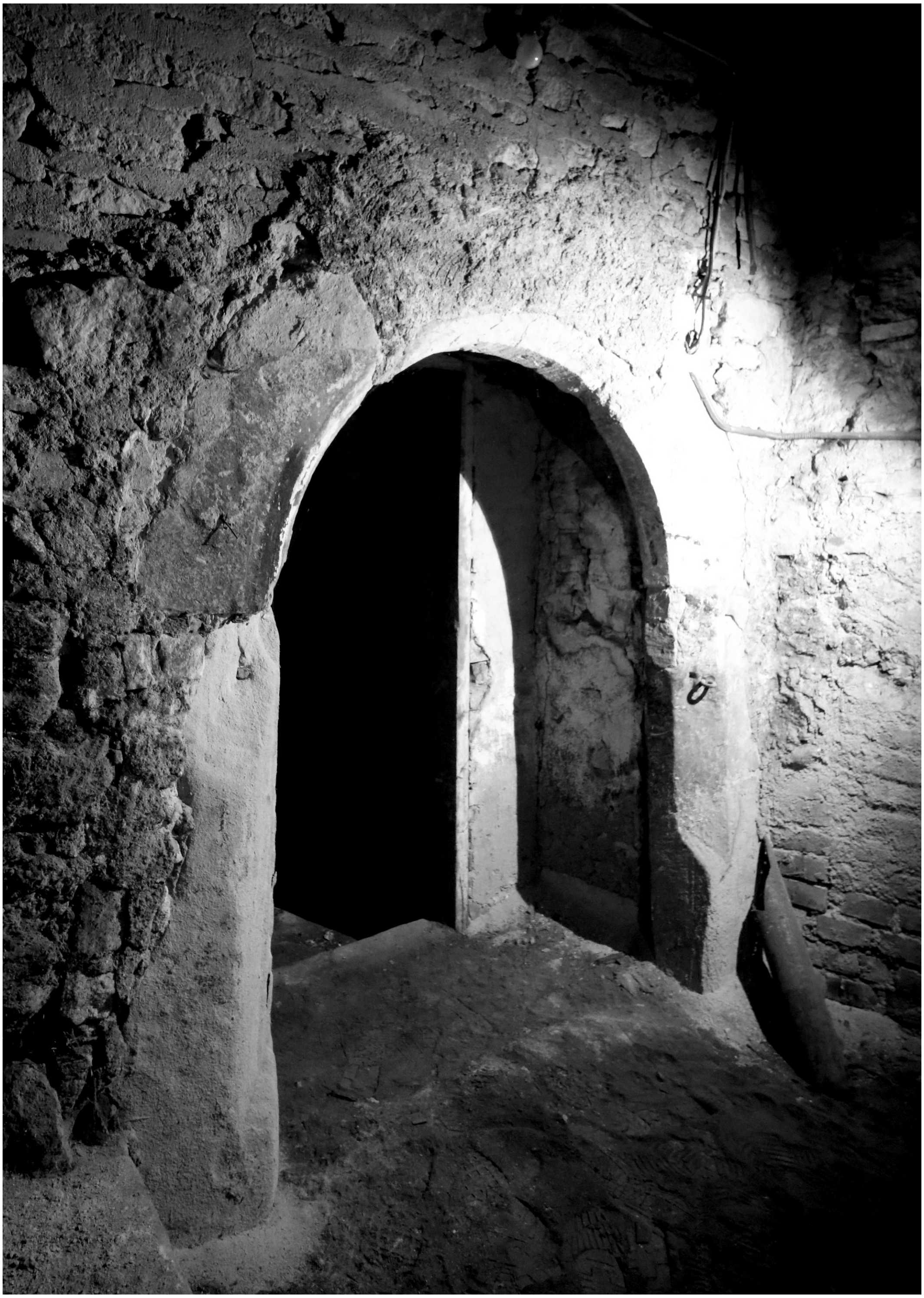


Fig. 15. Gothic portal in the basement (photo by M. Mihály).

Fig. 16. Staircase (photo by M. Mihály).

Fig. 18. Fragment of a Renaissance frame in the courtyard (photo by M. Mihály).

Fig. 17. The first-floor room facing the street (photo by M. Mihály).

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COUNTESS OTTILIA WASS, THE MAECENAS OF MUSEUM LIFE IN CLUJ

MELINDA MITU*

Abstract: This paper presents some considerations regarding the *legacy of Countess Ottilia Wass*, one of the most outstanding cultural personalities of Cluj from the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Together with Count Imre Mikó, founder of the Association of the Transylvanian Museum in Cluj (1859), Ottilia Wass was a great Maecenas of cultural life in Transylvania. At the beginning of the twentieth century she bequeathed to the Transylvanian Museum Association her home in the center of Cluj, as well as over a thousand decorative art objects (furniture, porcelain, glass, Oriental objects, etc.), which today are preserved in the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca.

Keywords: Countess Ottilia Wass, Cluj, Transylvanian Museum Society, Count Lajos Gyulai, Countess Franciska Wass

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față prezintă câteva considerații privind *lăsământul contesei Ottilia Wass*, una dintre cele mai deosebite personalități culturale ale Clujului din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului al XX-lea. Alături de contele Imre Mikó, fondatorul Asociației Muzeului Ardelean din Cluj (1859), Ottilia Wass a fost un mare Mecena al vieții culturale din Transilvania. La începutul secolului al XX-lea aceasta a lăsat moștenire Asociației Muzeului Ardelean casa ei din centrul orașului Cluj, dar și peste o mie de obiecte de artă decorativă (mobilier, porțelanuri, sticlă, obiecte orientale etc.), care azi se păstrează în Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei din Cluj-Napoca.

Cuvinte cheie: contesa Ottilia Wass, Cluj, Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, contele Lajos Gyulai, contesa Franciska Wass

In the present issue of *Acta Musei Napocensis. Historica*, an issue dedicated to the history of Cluj and some representative personalities from its past, we set out to make a brief foray into the life of Countess Ottilia Wass, an outstanding woman with cultural merits who lived in Cluj in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

In Transylvania, the most important museums of the nineteenth century came into existence and developed mainly due to generous donations from local nobles. Countess Ottilia Wass was such a magnanimous donor and a supporter of the museum life of Cluj. At the beginning of the twentieth century, she bequeathed to the Transylvanian Museum Society (founded by Count Imre Mikó, in 1859) her house in downtown Cluj (*Főtér* no. 10, today: Unirii Square no. 11), as well as an over a thousand artifacts from various historical epochs, which are preserved in our museum today.

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Countess Ottilia Wass of Țaga belonged to an ancient noble family in Transylvania. She was born in Cluj in 1829, and died here, in 1917, at the age of 88.[1]

The young countess' father had died when she was only 7. Together with her mother and sister she was supported by her uncle, Count Lajos Gyulay (1800–1869), a remarkable man of culture of the era, a reformist politician, a member in the Hungarian Parliament, and an enthusiastic supporter of Hungarian theatre and literature. He was also a passionate collector and a promoter of Hungarian museum life, 'donating several interesting objects to the newly established Transylvanian museum, including his collection of mineralogy and numismatics.'[2] Gyulay spent a lot of time with his sister's family (Franciska Gyulai, widow of Count György Wass), in their home in the center of Cluj, a house frequently visited 'by the friends and acquaintances of the two families — writers, politicians, journalists, teachers, i.e. the intellectuals of the city.'[3] In the era of reforms and in the years of the revolution of 1848–1849, 'Gyulay-Wass set up the second literary salon in the city after the one created in the house of Miklós Wesselényi.'[4] The Gyulay-Wass house was frequented by famous writers of the time, such as Ferenc Kazincy, Gábor Döbrentei and Zsigmond Kemény. Countess Wass also spent a lot of time in Gyulay Castle in Mintia (Hunedoara County), describing the 'literary atmosphere' here in a poem.[5]

Another important character who had a particular influence on the young countess 'Otti' was her mother, Franciska Wass, a cultivated woman, always concerned about the fate of the needy. For example, she founded a people's school for the peasants in Trestia (one of the estates owned by the Wass family), where she and her daughters taught schoolchildren. Countess Wass's mother showed great courage during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848–1849, when she provided support for wounded and refugees in the same house in central Cluj, which had been a place for political and cultural debates in the Age of Reforms.[6] In the autumn of 1848, Franciska Wass stood up to Colonel Karl von Urban, commander of the Austrian troops, when, following the provisional occupation of Cluj by the imperial troops, he tried to hold her accountable for her charitable activities in favor of Hungarian revolutionaries.[7]

The young Countess Wass grew up in the entourage of remarkable personalities, supporters of culture who advocated the tenets of the Enlightenment and liberal ideas of reforming Transylvanian society in the first half of the nineteenth century. Ottilia also received a chosen education. She knew classical languages, but also some modern languages. She wrote poems that were published in newspapers or other periodicals of the

[1] On the life and activity of Countess Ottilia Wass, see Kántor 1938, *passim*; W. Kovács 2004, 36–37; Cosma 2019, 11–15.

[2] Szinnyei, vol. IV, 1896. On Count Lajos Gyulay, see also Csetri, Miskolczy 2003, *passim*. Lajos Gyulay was also the author of a journal in approx. 140 volumes, written between 1815–1868. These were preserved in the collection of manuscripts of the Transylvanian Museum Society library, and nowadays they are kept in the collections of the 'Lucian Blaga' Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca, as well as at the Cluj County Branch of the National Archives. See Csetri, Miskolczy 2003, 7. All the quotations in this paper were translated from Romanian to English by Carmen Borbély.

[3] Csetri, Miskolczy 2003, 27.

[4] Csetri, Miskolczy 2003, 27; see also Kántor 1838, 4–5.

[5] Kántor 1838, 4–8; Csetri, Miskolczy 2003, 27.

[6] Kántor 1838, 5–6, Cosma 2019, 12.

[7] Kántor 1838, 6.

era, some of which were also translated into German.[8] Her poems often reflected suffering caused by unrequited love, in the romantic spirit of the time.

From the diary, correspondence and poems of Countess Wass,[9] we find out that she experienced sentimental deceptions and unfulfilled love. The last love story in her life that we know of was the one that linked Ottilia Wass to Pál Rosty, a renowned Hungarian geographer and traveler. However, this relationship also ended sadly, because a severe illness caused Rosty's death at only 44 years old.[10]

As a result, Countess Wass never married, but her life was full of professional achievements. She was a modern and cultivated woman, harboring political and social convictions in keeping with the dominant liberal spirit of her times. Countess Wass stood out as a true Maecenas of cultural life in Transylvania. She was eager to see and learn new things. She devoted herself to supporting literature and the arts, as well as other philanthropic actions. She funded the studies of some young women belonging to the Reformed confession and made substantial donations to the Reformed Church in Cluj.[11]

At the end of her life, Countess Wass bequeathed her personal library to the Kocsárd Kún Reformed College in Orăștie, and her house in downtown Cluj, as well as letters, personal documents and a whole series of cultural assets were bequeathed to the Transylvanian Museum Society.[12]

These assets started to be inventoried in the spring of 1917,[13] shortly after the countess's death in March of the same year, but the difficulties encountered by the Transylvanian Museum Society in the last years of World War I and the establishment of the new Romanian university in Cluj, after the union of Transylvania with Romania, delayed their inventory. The objects donated by Countess Wass were stored at the office of the Numismatic and Antiques Collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society in *Bástya* Street (today: Constantin Daicoviciu St., the present-day headquarters of the National History Museum of Transylvania), in 1919. Their arrangement and inventory took place in 1924, respectively in 1943–1944.[14] The above-mentioned cultural goods were listed in the registers of the Numismatic and Antiques Collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society (volumes V, VI and VII), totaling 1,227 inventory numbers.

Countess Ottilia Wass's legacy is a rich and varied collection of artifacts. Due to her acquisitions and travels (the Countess traveled a lot, especially in Western Europe, but also to Greece and the Ottoman Empire), Ottilia Wass gathered an impressive number of beautiful and rare artefacts from several historical eras.[15] Among the antiques inherited from Countess Wass there are both archaeological pieces and special medieval weapons and

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[8] Kántor 1838, 7, 13; Cosma 2019, 12.

[9] These were donated by Countess Ottilia Wass to the Transylvanian Museum Society, and nowadays they are owned by the Cluj County Branch of the National Archives.

[10] Kántor 1838, 14.

[11] Kántor 1838, 16–18; W. Kovács 2004, 37; Cosma 2019, 14–15.

[12] Kántor 1838, 18; W. Kovács 2004, 37; Cosma 2019, 14.

[13] Vincze 2014, 254. See also the *Report of Béla Pósta to the general meeting of the Transylvanian Museum Society*, Cluj, 31 December 1918, in Vincze 2014, 761.

[14] Vincze 2014, 254.

[15] Kántor 1938, 16–17. On the legacy left by Countess Ottilia Wass, see also W. Kovács, 37; Vincze 2014, 89, 211–212, 217–218, 238, 245, 253–254.

jewels, textiles from the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, decorative objects made of metal, faience, porcelain, maiolica and glass, as well as numerous postcards and photographs. The 'Athenian stone piece,' the 'fragments of Mycenaean shards,' the 'Roman mosaics,' the 'Venetian chandelier' and 'Japanese-taste' lacquered wood objects – these are just some of the many interesting and valuable objects accumulated by the Countess during her journeys or through various purchases.

The historical and museum value of numerous *treasures* that belonged to the Countess is reinforced by the fact that they were, at one point, owned by different Transylvanian political or cultural personalities, especially nobles to whom she was related or who were closely acquainted with the Wass and Gyulai families.

Most of the material from Ottilia Wass's house was composed of 'industrial art objects,' as emphasized by Béla Pósta, director of the Numismatic and Antiquities Collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society, in a description of the collection soon after the donation was made.[16]

This shows that Ottilia Wass was aware of the value of industrial art products and that she had adopted the new cultural-artistic trend propagated by the great universal exhibitions organized from 1851 on, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Countess Wass paid special attention to Hungarian industrial art, enriching her home with a whole series of decorative objects from the Zsolnay and Herend factories in Hungary, as well as from the Vilmos Fischer's porcelain manufacture in Cluj.[17]

In the category of interior decoration items, special attention should be granted to the furniture collection of Countess Ottilia Wass. This contains pieces illustrating the most important artistic trends in the history of European cabinets: the Baroque, Classicist, *Louis Philippe*, *Biedermeier* and Victorian styles, as well as the historical styles of the second half of the nineteenth century.[18]

The artefacts Countess Wass collected during her life eloquently demonstrated her passion and skill as a collector. She had exquisite tastes, was a lover of beauty, and her house was a real museum. It is therefore all the more remarkable that she bequeathed all her treasures to the Transylvanian Museum.

'In the history of the Transylvanian Museum Society we encounter many great spirits who either served the Society through their talents or enriched the public wealth through their donations or objects left for preservation,' as historian Lajos Kántor stated in a speech he gave in 1937, in memory of Countess Ottilia Wass, 'the great benefactress of the Transylvanian Museum Society.' Kántor believed that:

> … two people had a decisive influence on the existence of the Transylvanian Museum Society. Count Imre Mikó gave the Society the power of his persuasive spirit and a significant part of his wealth: he founded the Society, and by donating his villa and garden of 12 *iugăre* [from the Latin *iugerum*], he made its birth possible. In terms of importance, Imre Mikó was immediately followed by Ottilia Wass: by donating half

[16] Kántor 1938, 17; Vincze 2014, 254.

[17] On the development of international and especially Hungarian industrial art, see Vadas 2014, 7–90.

[18] Numerous exceptional pieces from Ottilia Wass's furniture collection were presented in Pop 1994 and Mitu 2006.

of her wealth, she made it possible for the Transylvanian Museum Society to operate at a time when its material sources had been exhausted.[19]

In the present-day museum of history in Cluj, a whole series of cultural goods from the legacy of Countess Wass enrich the permanent exhibition, especially after its reorganization, following the fall of the communist regime. Many items have also been displayed in temporary exhibitions or have been the subject of scientific research. Specialized works having been published and catalogues of collections including these items have been compiled.

The treasures bequeathed by Countess Ottilia Wass still enchant our spirit and eyes, delighting the museographers who research and display them and the general public who come to admire them.

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[19] Kántor 1938, 22.

Fig. 1. Pieces of furniture from the collection of Countess Ottilia Wass (Colecția MNIT, nos. F 18294, F 18296, F 18307, M 3395–M 3399; images from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 2. Decorative objects acquired by Countess Ottilia Wass during a travel to Italy (Colecția MNIT, nos. M 3325, M 4839, M 4843, M 4844; images from the MNIT archive).

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THE ACTIVITY OF THE CLUJ COUNTY BRANCH OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL PARTY IN THE SPRING OF 1920 AS REFLECTED IN THE NEWSPAPER *PATRIA*

MARIN POP*

Abstract: This study aims to highlight the activity of the Cluj County Branch of the Romanian National Party (hereafter abbreviated as RNP) in the spring of 1920, covering the events from the fall of the government led by Alexandru Vaida–Voevod until the end of the parliamentary elections of May–June 1920.

After the Great Union, the city of Cluj became the political capital of Transylvania, especially after the Ruling Council, which was the provisional executive body of Transylvania, moved its headquarters from Sibiu to Cluj. Iuliu Maniu, the President of the Ruling Council and of the R.N.P, who was elected at the Sibiu Conference of 9–10 August 1919, had settled in Cluj as well. Moreover, at the head of Cluj County Branch of the RNP were personalities with a rich history of struggle for the cause of National Liberation of the Romanians in Transylvania: Iuliu Coroianu, Emil Hațieganu, Aurel Socol, Sever Dan, Alexandru Rusu, Ioan Giurgiu, the Archpriest Ioan Pop of Morlaca, and the Priest-Martyr Aurel Muntean from Huedin.

After the dismissal of the Vaida government, the Central Executive Committee of the RNP convened a party congress for 24 April 1920, in Alba Iulia. Just before the congress, the Cluj County organization had started the election campaign. Meetings were organized in every town and village, aiming to elect representatives for the Congress in Alba Iulia. On 21 April 1920, a large assembly was held in Cluj, during which the deputies of Cluj presented their work in Parliament. Simultaneously, delegates were elected for the Congress of Alba Iulia.

The RNP Congress adopted a draft resolution and the governing bodies were elected. Iuliu Maniu was re-elected as President. Based on the decisions adopted at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918, he adopted a working program, which was summarized in thirteen chapters.

During the electoral campaign of 1920 two major political groups became polar opposites: the one around the People's Party, which was in power, and the parties that formed the Parliamentary Bloc and had governed before. On the list of candidates of the Cluj County Branch of the RNP we can mostly find the former MPs of the party, as well as those who had filled various leadership positions within the Ruling Council.

Following the electoral process, despite all the efforts of the People's Party, in power at that time – especially those of Octavian Goga – to dispel the propaganda conducted by the RNP, the latter party managed to obtain 27 seats in the House and 14 in the Senate. This placed the RNP in second place among Romania's political parties.

The Cluj County Branch of the RNP was able to win two of the five electoral districts in the Chamber, as well as two in the Senate, out of the three allocated to the county.

Another conclusion would be that, starting from these parliamentary elections, more and more parties from the Old Kingdom penetrated into Transylvania and Banat. They would achieve some success with the voters only when they came to hold power in the state and organize elections. Still, the RNP remained the party with the largest grip on the electorate of Transylvania and Banat, and Cluj became the political capital of Transylvania.

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Keywords: Romanian National Party, elections of 1920, *Patria*, Iuliu Maniu, Ruling Council, Cluj

Rezumat: Prezentul studiu își propune să scoată în evidență activitatea organizației Partidului Național Român (în continuare abreviat ca PNR). din județul Cluj în primăvara anului 1920, de la căderea guvernului condus de Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, până la încheierea alegerilor parlamentare din mai-iunie 1920.

După Marea Unire, orașul Cluj devine capitala politică a Ardealului, în special după ce Consiliul Dirigent, organul executiv provizoriu al Transilvaniei, își mută sediul aici, de la Sibiu. La Cluj se stabilește și Iuliu Maniu, președintele Consiliului Dirigent și al PNR, ales la Conferința de la Sibiu, din 9–10 august 1919. De asemenea, în fruntea organizației PNR Cluj se aflau personalități cu un bogat trecut de luptă pentru cauza eliberării naționale a românilor din Transilvania: Iuliu Coroianu, Emil Hațieganu, Aurel Socol, Sever Dan, Alexandru Rusu, Ioan Giurgiu, protopopul Ioan Pop de Morlaca sau preotul-martir Aurel Muntean din Huedin.

După demiterea guvernului Vaida, Comitetul Central Executiv al PNR convoacă congresul partidului pentru data de 24 aprilie 1920, la Alba Iulia. Organizaţia judeţeană Cluj, chiar înaintea Congresului, a început campania electorală. Se organizează întruniri în toate localitățile, care au ca scop şi alegerea reprezentanţilor pentru Congresul de la Alba Iulia. În data de 21 aprilie 1920 are loc o mare adunare în Cluj, în cadrul căreia deputaţii oraşului Cluj și-au prezentat activitatea pe care au depus-o în cadrul Parlamentului. Totodată, au fost aleşi delegaţii pentru Congresul de la Alba Iulia.

Congresul PNR a adoptat un proiect de rezoluţie şi s-au ales organele de conducere. Iuliu Maniu a fost reales în funcţia de preşedinte. Având la bază hotărârile adoptate la Marea Adunare Naţională de la Alba Iulia din 1 Decembrie 1918 a adoptat un program de muncă, sintetizat în 13 capitole.

În cadrul campaniei electorale din anul 1920 s-au polarizat două mari grupări politice şi anume cea din jurul Partidul Poporului, aflat la guvernare, şi partidele care au constituit Blocul parlamentar şi guvernaseră înainte. În mare parte, pe lista candidaţilor organizaţiei PNR Cluj îi regăsim pe foştii parlamentari ai partidului și pe cei care au îndeplinit anumite funcții de conducere în cadrul Consiliului Dirigent.

În urma desfășurării procesului electoral, cu toate eforturile Partidului Poporului, aflat la guvernare, în special cele ale lui Octavian Goga, de a împiedica propaganda PNR, acesta din urmă a reușit să obţină 27 de mandate, la Cameră, şi 14 la Senat, ceea ce îl situa pe locul al doilea între partidele politice din România.

Organizația PNR Cluj a reușit să câștige la Cameră două din cele cinci circumscripții electorale, iar la Senat tot două circumscripţii, din cele trei câte avea repartizate judeţul.

O altă concluzie ar fi aceea că, începând cu aceste alegeri parlamentare, în Transilvania şi Banat vor pătrunde tot mai mult şi partidele din Vechiul Regat. Vor avea un oarecare succes la electorat doar în momentul în care vor deţine puterea în Stat şi vor organiza ele alegerile. PNR rămânea, în continuare, partidul cu cea mai mare priză la electoratul din Transilvania şi Banat, iar Clujul devine capitala politică a Ardealului.

Cuvinte cheie: Partidului Național Român, alegerile din 1920, *Patria*, Iuliu Maniu, Consiliul Dirigent, Cluj

Political life during the interwar period was, and still is, an important subject of study for historians. Considering the restrictions imposed on the manner of representing this subject in written discourse during the communist period, we believe that a closer look at it is needed.

Unfortunately, in addition to the fact that numerous, mostly successful, attempts were made to abolish (even physically) the entire interwar political elite, political archives and personal collections belonging to the prominent politicians of the time were destroyed as well.

Due to the scarcity of archival documents, the press plays an important role in the study of interwar political life. In order to get the most out of the information in the press, we must overcome both the difficulty arising from the incomplete nature of the collections and the (at times, excessive) subjectivism that transpires in newspaper texts. As a documentary source, the press can be supplemented with materials resulting from the parliamentary debates of the interwar period.

This study aims to highlight the activity of the Cluj County Branch of the RNP in the spring of 1920, covering events from the fall of the government led by Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, until the end of the parliamentary elections of May–June 1920.

In the absence of archival documents, the main source of information for the preparation of this study, in addition to the cited bibliography, was the newspaper *Patria*, the official RNP mouthpiece, which was published in Cluj at that time. In addition to that, we will use the protocols of the meetings of the legislative bodies from the aftermath of parliamentary elections, where we can find information related to how the electoral process was conducted.

After the Great Union, the city of Cluj became the political capital of Transylvania, especially after the Ruling Council (the provisional executive body of Transylvania) moved its headquarters from Sibiu to Cluj. Iuliu Maniu, the President of the Ruling Council and of the Romanian National Party, who was elected at the Sibiu Conference of 9–10 August 1919, had settled in Cluj as well. Moreover, at the head of Cluj County Branch of the RNP were personalities with a rich history of struggle for the cause of National Liberation of the Romanians in Transylvania: Iuliu Coroianu, Emil Haţieganu, Aurel Socol, Sever Dan, Alexandru Rusu, Ioan Giurgiu, the Archpriest Ioan Pop of Morlaca and the Priest-Martyr Aurel Muntean from Huedin.

Politically, 1919 was a year of great importance for Transylvanians in Romanian politics. Thus, the first parliamentary elections held in Greater Romania in November 1919 were won by the RNP,[1] the new parliamentary majority being formed around it. Alexandru Vaida–Voevod was appointed Prime Minister of the Government, after Iuliu Maniu had turned down the position on several occasions.[2] The latter reasoned that he had the mission to integrate Transylvania and Banat organically within Greater Romania, being elected as President of the Ruling Council, the provisional executive body of Transylvania, on 2 December 1918 in Alba Iulia.

Unfortunately, this first post-1918 Romanian parliament was short-lived. On 12 March 1920, the President of the Peasants' Party, Ion Mihalache, submitted his resignation as Minister of Agriculture and Estates, because his agrarian bill, voted by Parliament, had been rejected by King Ferdinand. One day after the resignation of Minister Ion Mihalache, the King signed the decree appointing General Alexandru Averescu as President of the Council of Ministers.[3]

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[1] Iancu 1973, 91–119; Iancu 1974, 103–131; Pop 2014, 32–37, 468–473; Popovici 2019.

[2] Scurtu, Buzatu 1999, 121–122.

[3] Scurtu 1994, 16–17.

The manner in which the Government led by Alexandru Vaida–Voevod was dismissed, when the Prime Minister was out of the country, working to improve Romania's image and to have new borders recognized through peace treaties, was detested both in the country and abroad. Here is how the former Prime Minister described the dismissal of the government he was leading, while he was still abroad, and 'the kind of rush' General Averescu was in to 'liquidate his political reputation:'

> Ştefan Cicio-Pop, invited by King Ferdinand to present the resignation of the Vaida Government (after having telegraphically given me the authorization to extend my absence from the country), objected in an attempt to convince His Majesty, but eventually left to execute the royal order. Over the phone, all ministers signed the resignation. The whole procedure took about an hour. Ştefan Cicio-Pop was living on Romană Street. As he went out of the building on his way to the Palace, where the King was waiting for the document, he no longer found the car. He had to run right, left until he found a hansom. Later, Vlahide, General Secretary to the Presidency, informed him that – following Averescu's order – he had been forced to order the driver to report to General Averescu, as soon as he had taken Şt. Cicio-Pop, with the resignation, from the Palace to his home.'[4]

Constantin Argetoianu, General Averescu's close collaborator at the time, also admitted that: 'Although the Averescu government was expected and prepared for several days, the change had all the appearance of unnecessary brusqueness, and the King had behaved badly towards Vaida. But, says Argetoianu, since he is such a good man, Vaida forgave him – for his own benefit, to be fair.'[5] He also described the scene of the dismissal of the government and the reaction of the West:

> While Mihalache was struggling with his project, the King called Cicio-Pop and demanded the resignation of the government. The leader resisted, argued that he was only interim and that Vaida should be demanded to hand in the resignation. The King insisted, declaring that the situation did not allow any delay, and finally Mr. Ţiţei called for his resignation. Vaida was in London, negotiating with the English Government and making plans for the future in the presence of foreigners when he learned that he was no longer a Minister and Head of Government. It was a nasty blow for our prestige as a civilized state, and the press in London and Paris judged us without any lenience.'[6]

The *Patria* newspaper also condemned the overthrow of the Vaida government. In this work, one article says, 'the reactionaries shook hands with the Democrats, the Liberals with the Conservatives, to overthrow the Vaida government.' The three parties that contributed to this act were catalogued as 'leavened from the same dough of parvenu, self-interested

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[4] Vaida–Voevod 1995, 222. All the quotations in this paper were translated from Romanian to English by Carmen Borbély.

[5] Argetoianu 1996, 112.

[6] Argetoianu 1996, 113.

politicianism,' and 'the alleged struggle between them is only in form, for they basically agree to oppose broad reforms and to stop the victory of democracy.'[7]

The composition of the new government was also presented in this issue, this information being received by the editors of the newspaper from the Military Command in Oradea, where an official telegram of the Ministry of War had arrived. General Averescu was the new Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, Duiliu Zamfirescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Theodor Cudalbu, Minister of Agriculture and Estates, General Gheorghe Văleanu, Minister of Public Works, General Ioan Rășcanu, Minister of War, Octavian Tăslăuanu, Minister of Industry and Trade, Constantin Argetoianu, Minister of Finance, and Octavian Goga, Minister without a portfolio.[8]

In an interview with the same newspaper, the political leader Romul Boilă made an objective analysis, we would say, of the political situation created following the dismissal of the Vaida government, of the activity of the former government, but also of the RNP policy. At the same time, he predicted that the Averescu government would persuade the King to dissolve Parliament in order to organize new parliamentary elections.[9]

Constantin Argetoianu believed that the Averescu government had a flaw, namely the fact that it had no Transylvanian in it, and 'a government without Transylvanian people, he said, was all the more difficult to conceive after the integration of the nation, the more we were determined to abolish the Ruling Council and unify the administration of the country.' They only had Octavian Tăslăuanu, who, he claimed, was an 'element of rare intelligence, of refined culture,' who 'had not yet given any sign of moral decline.' As for Octavian Goga and his hesitations to leave the RNP, Argetoianu stated the following: 'I was discussing it with Goga: one day he wanted to be a Minister, while the next day he asked for a respite to clarify his situation in the National Party. To explain his hesitations, he pretended to bring them all in – in reality, he only came with a few personal friends.' Vasile Goldiș and Inculeț received the proposal to join Averescu's government, but they did not accept membership in the People's Party.[10]

Concerning the negotiations between the People's Party and some leaders of the RNP, Argetoianu said that he personally started them in the autumn of 1919, 'on several threads.' One negotiation was with Goga-Tăslăuanu Group, another with Avram Imbroane of Banat and the group led by him, the third with Mihai Popovici and Valeriu Braniște and the fourth with Victor Bontescu and Aurel Vlad. He considered these 'discussions' difficult because the Transylvanian people were not very resolute. He described these meetings with various Transylvanian leaders:

> Especially Transylvanian people liked to enjoy a glass of wine or a meal. For hours on end they kept eating and drinking at your expense and talking endlessly. When you thought they were close to reaching a conclusion, they started again from the beginning and, in early hours of the morning, at the moment of separation, they shook your hand with effusion and with a 'let's talk some more.'[11]

[7] Patria 1920, no. 58, 1.
[8] Patria 1920, no. 58, 1; Neagoe 1995, 84.
[9] Patria 1920, no. 60, 1.
[10] Argetoianu 1995, 219.
[11] Argetoianu 1995, 219–220.

Following General Averescu's proposal to support the new Government, the RNP lawmakers met at the Bucharest Club to discuss this proposal and take decisions in this regard. During these discussions, the 'warmest thanks' were given to former Prime Minister Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, Ministers Ştefan Cicio-Pop and Mihai Popovici, 'for their patriotic activity and their fruitful work in the service of the country.'

Regarding the 'invitation' of General Averescu to support the government, it was decided that the RNP, as a rule, could not refuse the delegation of its ministers to the 'government of His Majesty,' in accordance with the Decree-Law of the Union no. 3682. Before, however, the RNP leaders wanted to know the program of government of General Averescu and the way in which the RNP's views would be satisfied.[12] Therefore, it was decided to delegate Ministers Octavian Goga and Vasile Goldis as ministers without portfolios in the new government, 'in the interest of State Affairs.' However, the RNP reserved 'full freedom of political action,' and its attitude towards the new government was to be 'guided on a case-by-case basis in accordance with the interests of the country and the party's broadly democratic political views.' The new Minister Vasile Goldiș told the newspapers that his entry into the new government did not commit the party to General Averescu and that the party would retain its freedom of action.[13] Among the members of the Executive Committee of the RNP, only Ştefan Cicio-Pop stressed that he could not make a decision in this regard until the return to the country of the former Prime Minister Al. Vaida–Voevod, whose interim leadership of the government he had provided.

Iuliu Maniu had a meeting with General Averescu in advance. Following that, it was accepted that the two ministers would join the new government without portfolios and deal only with 'specific Transylvanian interests.' On this occasion, General Averescu stated that he would like a merger with the RNP.[14]

At the same time, RNP leaders declared that there were no grounds for the dissolution of Parliament. The only argument made by those who wanted this was that in the November 1919 elections some political parties had abstained. This argument, however, was unedifying, 'because by this they proved their helplessness, it is also the worst, given the fact that in the new elections, the parties that fought could abstain and this game would be endless and dangerous.' A number of party leaders who had abstained from the elections ran in the by-elections 'and this one argument falls by itself.' Thus, no constitutional argument justified the dissolution of the first Parliament of Greater Romania, a parliament that represented the legal will of the country, which could not be ignored.[15]

In these conditions of parliamentary crisis General Averescu appeared before the Chambers to present the program of the government he was leading. It should be noted, however, that he had no political program. He mentioned that this political program would not belong to only one party, meaning his own, and that he would make the program known at the opening of the parliamentary session in the autumn. In the current session, he stressed that he intended to regulate the most urgent issues concerning the country's recovery and public activity.

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[12] Patria 1920, no. 60, 1.
[13] Patria 1920, no. 63, 1.
[14] Patria 1920, no. 65, 1.
[15] Patria 1920, no. 63, 1.

Political parties reacted differently to these statements. The parties in the former Parliamentary Bloc had maintained a reserved attitude. Only the Liberals applauded. Public interest in this meeting was very high, but the people remained deeply disappointed.[16]

However, on 25 March 1920, the new Prime Minister read the decree of dissolution of the legislative bodies, signed by King Ferdinand, and this was considered by Nicolae Iorga a 'political crime.'[17] Alexandru Averescu needed a parliamentary majority to support him and consolidate his power, with the King's consent. The electoral body was called for new parliamentary elections, which were to be held on 25–27 May for the Chamber of Deputies, and on 30–31 May for the Senate.[18]

After the installation of the Averescu government, Octavian Goga, who had been appointed Minister of State on 28 March, at the head of a group of 29 members of the National Party, presented Iuliu Maniu with a collective resignation, demanding exit from the party. In a memorandum dated 31 March 1920, those who had resigned announced that they had decided to establish a new party named the People's Party, together with the People's League. The People's League also merged with the group led by Iancu Flondor and Sergiu Niță and the National Union from Banat, which was led by Abram Imbroane.[19]

In these circumstances, the Central Executive Committee of the RNP convened the party congress for 24 April 1920, in Alba Iulia. The proposed agenda included the issues to be discussed. Thus, after the report of the Central Executive Committee was presented, a committee was to be elected, which would make proposals on the political situation in the country, improve the party's program and reorganize it. A new Central Committee was also to be elected.[20]

The party manifesto and the convening of the Congress to be held in Alba Iulia were sent to all the presidents of the county branches. This manifesto had to be displayed by the presidents of the county organizations in each municipality. It was the first congress of the party after the Great National Assembly held in Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918.

At the Congress, former parliamentarians were *de jure* members. Apart from these, each constituency sent two delegates and each county five. In terms of electoral districts, the same ones used in the autumn of 1919 were considered.[21] Thus, in addition to deputies and senators, 542 delegates from the 22 counties of Transylvania took part in the Congress.[22]

The Central Executive Committee of the RNP, which was based in Cluj, published an article-manifesto entitled 'The National Party to the Romanian nation' in the newspaper *Patria,* in which the historical tradition of the party and its achievements during the governing of the Parliamentary Bloc were evoked. In conclusion, it was emphasized that the party was one of order and tradition that saw in the Romanian Crown and in the

[16] Patria 1920, no. 68, 1.
[17] Neamul românesc 1920, 1
[18] Monitorul Oficial 1920, 13.421.
[19] Florescu, Saizu 1973, 322.
[20] Patria 1920, no. 79, 1.
[21] Patria 1920, no. 82, 1.
[22] Patria 1920, no. 90, 1.

Romanian Dynasty, 'a dear symbol of national unity and a shield guarding all popular aspirations.' At the end, the composition of the Executive Committee was conveyed.[23]

Just before the Congress, the party's county branches began the election campaign. Meetings were held in every organization, with the aim to also elect representatives for the Congress of Alba Iulia.

The newspaper *Patria* informed the county branches that all the square administrators had received order to 'allow' the political assemblies of the RNP.[24]

In Cojocna County (Cluj), intellectuals of the Mociu constituency met, under the presidency of Simion Ciuca, 'for a confidential assembly.' The former MP of this constituency, Sever Dan, made an analysis of the political situation. On this occasion it was decided to support the party and 'the strongest solidarity with the party conduct was asserted.' On 14 April, meetings took place in Blaj – attended by Iuliu Maniu – but also in Sighisoara, Gilau, Mănășturul-Românesc, Huedin, Năsăud[25] and Târgu-Mureș.[26]

In Cojocna County, no less than 9 people's assemblies were to be organized on Low Sunday, and the County General Assembly was to meet on 21 April.[27]

Most of the assemblies were to take place on Low Sunday, i.e. the first week after Easter, on 18 April. Thus, meetings in Hida, Borșa, Cojocna, Mociu, Ormeniș, Teaca, Șeica Mare[28] and Șimleu Silvaniei took place on that date.

The county committee of the RNP announced that on 21 April 1920, a large assembly was to take place in Cluj, which had on its agenda the report of the deputies of the city of Cluj regarding their activity as Members of Parliament. The presence of Iuliu Maniu, Alexandru Vaida–Voevod and Valeriu Braniște was announced. At the same time, delegates were to be elected for the Congress of Alba Iulia.[29]

In the newspaper *Patria* it was emphasized that the city of Cluj was beginning to become a great political center for the whole of Transylvania. On 21 April, Cluj showed 'full confidence' in the RNP, 'from peasants to university professors.' During this meeting, the archpriest Ioan Pop, Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, Iuliu Maniu, Valeriu Braniște, and former Cluj deputies Aurel Socol and Emil Hațieganu spoke. In his speech, the president of the RNP, Iuliu Maniu, 'envisaged a new era' for the party, stating that 'in Alba Iulia a political program was made for the whole of Greater Romania.' Regarding the RNP relations

[23] Patria 1920, no. 79, 1. At that time the Central Executive Committee of the PNR was enlarged and had 44 members. These were the political leaders it comprised: Iuliu Maniu, the president, and then, in alphabetical order, George Adam, Ioan Agârbiceanu, Iosif Blaga, Valer Branisce, Sever Bocu, Romul Boilă, Lucian Borcea, Tiberiu Brediceanu, Vasile Chindriş, Liviu Cigăreanu, Iuliu Coroianu, Gheorghe Crişan, Victor Deleu, Aurel Dobrescu, Gheorghe Gârda, Vasile Goldiş, Emil Haţieganu, Ioan Iosif, Gavrilă Iuga, Laurenţiu Oanea, Demetriu Lascu, Aurel Lazăr, Sever Dan, secretar, Vasile Lucaciu, Iancu Meţianu, Sever Miclea, Valer Moldovan, Victor Moldovan, Gheorghe Moroianu, Ioan Moţa, ing. Eugen Munteanu, Voicu Niţescu, Aurel Nilvan, Victor Onişoru, Ioan Pop, Ştefan Cicio-Pop, Gheorghe Pop, Mihai Popovici, Vasile Saftu, Coriolan Steer, Ioan Teculescu, Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, Aurel Văleanu.

[24] Patria 1920, no. 82, 3.

[25] Patria 1920, no. 82, 3.

[26] Patria 1920, no.87, 2.

[27] Patria 1920, no. 81, 1.

[28] Patria 1920, no. 82, 3.

[29] Patria 1920, no. 84, 1.

with Averescu's party, Iuliu Maniu pointed out that there were differences between the two parties.[30]

The works of the Congress of Alba Iulia began on 24 April 1920, at 10 o'clock. The opening speech was given by the president of the party, Iuliu Maniu, greeted with thunderous applause. Next came the confirmation of the delegates from the 22 counties. There were about 800 people in the Hall. The people gathered outside demanded that the Congress should be held in the open air so that they could witness the discussions. The political leader Alexandru Aciu, from Sălaj, reassured them and said that there would be an assembly outside. Thus, a parallel congress was improvised in the square of Alba Iulia where Ştefan Cicio-Pop, Ioan Moța, the lawyer, Giurgiu Brânzeu, and a peasant named Mihalache gave talks. The speakers showcased the political situation in the country and gave 'guidelines for new activity.'

In the Hall the telegrams of accession were read and it was decided to send a telegram of tribute to King Ferdinand, with the following message: 'the National Party Congress meeting in Alba Iulia, filled with sincere admiration for the liberating king, pays Your Majesty a tribute of loyal devotion and assures You of the everlasting gratitude! Long Live Your Royal Majesty, long live H. M. S. the Queen, Long Live the Romanian dynasty.'[31]

The president of the RNP, Iuliu Maniu gave an impressive speech, in which he made an analysis of the activity of the party after 1918, stressed the need to expand the organizations to the whole country, and spoke against the merger with the People's Party, which intended to abolish the RNP There were even voices within the party that said that the role of the RNP had ended with the achievement of the Union of 1 December 1918. Therefore, Iuliu Maniu pointed out that only the Congress could decide the fate of the party.[32]

The RNP Congress adopted a draft resolution and the governing bodies were elected. Iuliu Maniu was re-elected as president, on the proposal of Dr. Coltor, which was received with long applause and enthusiastic ovations. In view of the fact that, as was natural, the party had expanded to the whole country, in order to make the best possible electoral propaganda it was decided to elect a committee of one hundred people.[33] From its ranks, a

[30] Patria 1920, no. 86, 1–2.

[31] Gazeta de Duminecă 1920, 3.

[32] Discurs-expozeu 1920.

[33] In fact, 125 leaders were elected to this committee. They came from all the counties in Transylvania and Banat, and they were the main leaders of the National Party, many of them were the future MPs, which is why we have published the members of this committee in alphabetical order: Ioan Adam, Ion Agârbiceanu, Valeriu Braniște, Nicolae Brânzeu, Sever Bocu, Simion Balea, Andrei Bârsan, Lucian Borcea, Iosif Blaga, Ioan Bianu, Sebastian Bornemisa, Eugen Bran, Coriolan Bohăţiel, Ioan Buşiţa, Romul Boilă, Gheorghe Bilaşcu, Emil Bologa, Nicolae Bratu, Victor Braniște, Liviu Cigăreanu, Vasile Chiroiu, Aurel Cozma, Vasile Chindriş, Gheorghe Crişan, Romul Curta, Ioan Coltor, Zosim Chirtop, Gheorghe Dobrin, Victor Deleu, Andrei Doboşi, Sever Dan, Cornel Dărămuş, Candid David, Silviu Dragomir, Sever Erdelyi, Atanasie Ghidiu, Vasile Goldiş, Andrei Ghidiu, Alexandru Gheţie, Lucian Gheorgheviciu, Ilarie Holom, Emil Haţieganu, Ioan Iosif, Gavrilă Iuga, Nicolae Lăzărescu, Dimitrie Lascu, Vasile Lucaciu, Alexandru Lupean, Aurel Lazăr, Iuliu Maniu, Eugen Muntean, Iustin Marşieu, Sever Miclea, Gheorghe Moroianu, Ioan Moţa, Isidor Marcu, Romul Marchiş, Liviu Micşa, Iosif Macaveiu, Dumitru Manu, Romul Micşa, Cornel Mesaroş, Valer Moldovan, Victor Moldovan, Iancu Meţian, Izidor Marcu, Ştefan Meteş, Simion Nemeş, Alexandru Nemeş, Voicu Niţescu, Aurel Nilvan, Pompeiu Nistor, Andrei Nicola, Gavril Oşianu, Laurenţiu Oanea, Vasile Pahone, Ştefan Cicio Pop, Laurenţiu Pop, Gheorghe Popoviciu, Uroş Păteanu, Gheorghe Pop, Ioan Pop-Morlaca, Iacob Pop, Ioan Pop, Ionel Pop, Ariton Popa, Augustin Pordea, Victor Pralea, Gavril Precup, Emil Precup, Ghiţă Pop, Grigore Pletosu,

Central Executive Committee was then chosen, consisting of the following leaders: Maniu, president, Vasile Goldis, Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, and Ştefan Cicio-Pop as vice-presidents, Sever Dan as secretary-general, Valeriu Braniște, Iustin Marşieu, Ion Agârbiceanu, Voicu Niţescu, Aurel Lazăr, Valer Moldovan, Aurel Dobrescu, George Adam, Ioan Coltor, Vasile Saftu, Mihai Popovici as members. This committee was to collaborate permanently with President Iuliu Maniu. A commission of 40 people was also elected to examine the political situation in the country and formulate the draft resolution of the Congress.[34]

Nicolae Iorga and Ion Mihalache also spoke at this Congress, highlighting the importance of the agrarian reform and the necessity of its implementation, these issues also being discussed by Alexandru Vaida–Voevod.

Based on the decisions adopted at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 and having 'as a political postulate the completion of the Union' for whose enactment the party was committed to fight, the RNP adopted a working program, summarized in thirteen chapters, at the Congress of Alba Iulia on 24 April 1920.

The first chapter was dedicated to foreign policy, an area in which the RNP was convinced 'that differences between peoples must be resolved only peacefully, by subjecting them to the judgment of the Society of Nations, whose mission will spread and strengthen more and more in the consciousness of the Romanian people.'

The second chapter was devoted to domestic policies. The RNP demanded the revision of the Constitution, 'in accordance with the states of fact and especially with the principles of true parliamentarism.' The party demanded the gradual and systematic unification of all legislation on the territory of the country. In order to achieve this goal, he proposed the establishment of a special legal commission attached to the central government. It also provided for the reception of the diplomatic corps and the establishment of consulates, led by professional, well-trained, Romanian subjects, 'whose first task is to strengthen our commercial ties with foreign countries.'

Regarding the minorities in the country, the RNP demanded compliance with the international commitments, as also stipulated in the decisions of Alba Iulia of 1 December 1918.

The implementation of the agrarian reform was stipulated in the third chapter, starting from the principle that 'the land should end up in the hands of those who cultivate it, with the exclusion of any income in labor and also taking into account the requirements of a healthy social leveling as well as the promotion of national production.' It was emphasized that the RNP would monitor the implementation of the law for Bessarabia, already voted in the Parliament and the decree-laws on agrarian reform in Transylvania and Bukovina. For the territory of the Old Kingdom, a new law of expropriation and land distribution was envisaged, 'taking into account the real needs of the peasantry and the fundamental democratic principles, which led to the regulation of the agrarian question in the liberated

Traian Petraşcu, Petru Popovici, Ioan Rafiroiu, Alexandru Rusu, Alexandru Racoţi, Octavian Rusu, Dionisie Roman, Ioan Roman, protopop Simu, inginer Stoica, Vasile Suciu, Ioan Sâmpălean, Florian Stan, Vasile Saftu, Eugen Savu, Vasile Sava, Coriolan Steer, Aurel Socol, I. Teculescu, dr. Tălăşescu, Tit Liviu Tilea, Simion Tămaş, Camil Velican, dr. Vescan, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Aurel Vălean, Romul Veliciu, Toma Vasinca, Nicolae Zigre. See Patria 1920, 9 no. 1, 2.

[34] Patria 1920, no. 91, 2.

provinces.' Requests were made for the establishment of grazing grounds and communal pastures, as a matter of urgency.

Regarding administrative reform, the RNP, proclaiming administrative unification, also affirmed the principle of administrative decentralization down to the lowest administrative organization in the state.

The RNP demanded the reorganization of the security services of citizens and their assets, as well as of the Security Service. It then called for the introduction of stability for civil servants in all services and the regulation of 'a service pragmatics,' reducing the number of civil servants to the minimum necessary and ensuring they were paid enough for a satisfactory life.

In the economic field, the RNP demanded that every effort should be made for the economic recovery and consolidation of the country. It also called for state intervention to restore war-torn regions and the right to claim war reparations from the state. It also provided for freedom of trade, nationalization of industry, requesting the state's contribution to the most intensive exploitation of the country's wealth, so that the needs of the population were ensured from the domestic production. The RNP also demanded that the state protect the private initiative, help and promote the home industry [peasant or small entrepreneurs –author's note] and strengthen the small industry. It was in favor of the establishment of model farms and demanded state aid for the development of animal husbandry. It also required state support and financial credit for establishing and helping a powerful system of cooperatives in villages and cities.

In the Financial Field, the RNP demanded the unification of the currency, the most urgent leveling of the currency, the unification of the tax system, progressive income tax, the exemption of basic necessities and the minimum living wage from taxation and the increase of taxes on luxury items. It called for the review of fortunes made during the war, the pursuit and confiscation of fortunes made through fraud and abuse. A periodic control of the wealth of civil servants, state participation in import and export earnings, reform of the National Bank and legislation relating to banks were also envisaged.

In the field of justice, the RNP demanded the unification of codes and procedures, the elimination of bureaucracy in the judiciary, the establishment of itinerant courts and technical courts, in accordance with the social needs of the time. It also called for the abolition of military jurisdiction for civilians to be tried by civil courts, a radical reform of the Criminal Code and the introduction of land records for the whole country.

With regard to social protection, it called for the creation of social institutions and for their consolidation by the state, the organization and regulation of labor, the right to strike and the relations between employers and workers, as well as the introduction of arbitration as the only means of resolving disputes between employers and workers. A fair balance between capital and labor was absolutely necessary. The worker was to be remunerated according to the work he performed and his professional qualification. The care of the invalids and widows of war, the protection of children, encouraging the sport, the fight against infectious diseases and alcoholism, the introduction of health reforms after the latest Western models, there were objectives that needed to be achieved, in order to mitigate the consequences of the war, and to ensure the sound development of the nation. The RNP called for the establishment of a separate Ministry of Health.

In the field of education, a reform was envisaged in all areas of education, as was its unification throughout the country. The creation of a teaching staff, duly remunerated in such a way as to 'correspond to its high mission' was also mentioned. The development of people's schools, which would represent the 'true school for plowmen,' the establishment of rehearsal schools, the establishment of commercial and industrial schools at the level of those in the West, so as to educate a strong middle class, traders and industrialists, the establishment of technical, agronomic and forestry schools, with a view to the most efficient exploitation of soil and subsoil riches – all these had to complement and modernize the national education system.[35]

The RNP presented this vast program in the electoral campaign of May-June 1920. We believe that it was addressing the whole country and going beyond the limits of the regionalism that the RNP was accused of.

The day after the Congress, on 25 April 1920, Iuliu Maniu and Alexandru Vaida–Voevod communicated to Nicolae Iorga and Ion Mihalache, who had travelled specifically to this Congress, that they had accepted collaboration in the electoral campaign between the parties they were representing, the Nationalist-Democratic Party and the Peasants' Party. However, collaboration with the Peasants' Party leader Dr. Nicolae Lupu was not considered, as he was not well regarded by the king, for his ideas were considered leftist, even communist.

On 29 April, the Electoral Committee of the RNP gave the press the following statement:

> …based on the decision voted by the Congress, the Romanian National Party, in the electoral fight against the Averescu government, will give its support to the opposition parties and, first of all, it will give its full support to the Nationalist-Democratic Party under the leadership of Mr. Niculae Iorga and to the Peasants' Party under the leadership of Mr. Mihalache, as well as to the democratic parties in the adjoining provinces: Bessarabia and Bucovina.[36]

The next day, the article 'cooperation with the Federation' was published in the newspaper *Patria*, which recalled the resolution voted at the Congress, by which it was decided to collaborate with the Federation of Iorga and Mihalache. It was emphasized that this had been debated and voted on by the Congress and was not just the decision of the Executive Committee. This collaboration, the article said:

> …still has a soul, which prevails over all political considerations. As long as the leader of this political party in the Old Kingdom is Mr. N. Iorga, it will be easy to understand, considering how much moral authority Mr. Iorga has among us, in every walk of life, that the collaboration with Mr. Iorga in the elections received the assent of the people, that political and cultural assent, in which Mr. Iorga has been steeped for twenty years now.[37]

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[35] Patria 1920, 92, no. 1–2.
[36] Patria 1920, no. 92, 1–2.
[37] Patria 1920, no. 94, 1.

Under these auspices, the electoral campaign of 1920 continued, in which two major political groups were polarized, namely the People's Party, in power, and the parties that constituted the Parliamentary Bloc and had governed previously.

The RNP was determined to maintain its political monopoly in Transylvania and Banat. That is why intense political propaganda began. At the top of the lists of candidates were the president of the party Iuliu Maniu, Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, Vasile Goldiș, Mihai Popovici, Voicu Nițescu, Ștefan Cicio-Pop, Aurel Vlad, Aurel Lazăr, Victor Deleu and many other important leaders.

For the Chamber of Deputies, the Cluj RNP branch presented to the electorate the following list of candidates: in the Cluj electoral constituency the candidate was Aurel Socol, former MP; in the Teaca constituency, Alexandru Rusu, secretary general of the Ruling Council, former MP; in the Cojocna constituency the candidate was Sever Dan, secretary general of the RNP, former MP; in the Gilău constituency, Ioan Giurgiu, former MP; in Huedin, in the circumscription of Hida, Emil Hațieganu, former deputy.[38]

Aurel Isac, lawyer, former senator, in the Cluj constituency, Ioan Pop, former senator, in Huedin, and Eugen Bran, lawyer, former deputy, in the Cojocna constituency were running for the Senate.[39]

The RNP leaders appealed to their electorate, especially to priests and teachers, asking them not to be influenced by the promises of other parties, especially the People's Party, where a number of Transylvanian leaders had migrated.

In the political circles in Cluj, Octavian Goga announced that the parliamentary elections would be postponed by a week in Transylvania. This postponement was seen by the RNP leaders as a reason for the Averescu government to concentrate all its forces and electoral means in Transylvania, preventing the election of candidates from other parties.

After the decree-law passed, the new constituencies had to be published 30 days before the elections, which did not happen. The leaders of the RNP said that this delay was made with the aim that those who ran for the RNP in Transylvania could not know their electorate and contact them for propaganda, while the government candidates knew the delimitation of the constituencies and had already started campaigning in the new ones.[40]

In the *Official Gazette* no. 23 of 2 May, the Averescu government published the Decree-Law on the postponement of Elections in Transylvania and Banat, setting the dates of 3 and 4 June for the Chamber, the dates of 6 and 7 June for the Senate and that of 8 June for the University College of Cluj. The motivation for postponing these elections was, in General Averescu's conception, the fact that material difficulties, such as the distribution of electoral districts, the display of lists, etc., demanded the postponement of the elections for Transylvania and Banat. However, in the *Patria* newspaper it was stated that the distribution of the new electoral districts was published in the same *Official Gazette* by which the elections were postponed and stressed that this was 'striking and undoubted proof of the mystifications staged by General Averescu.'[41]

[38] Patria 1920, no. 110, 1–2; no. 111, 1–2; no. 112, 3.

[39] Patria 1920, no. 110, 1–2; no. 111, 1–2.

[40] Patria 1920, no. 93, 3.

[41] Patria 1920, no. 98, 1–3.

Nicolae Iorga, President of the Nationalist-Democratic Party, participated in the electoral campaign of the RNP organization in Cluj County. Present at the celebration that took place in Cluj on 15 May 1920, the great historian was invited by Sever Dan, General Secretary of the RNP and a prominent member of the Cluj organization, to participate in an electoral tour 'on the plain – a land east of Cluj, – a land with very special people, dialect, costumes, temperament, flora, geology.' The tour organized the next day, 16 May, turned 'into a true path of triumph,' Nicolae Iorga and RNP members being received everywhere with enthusiasm.[42] A large electoral assembly was organized in Mociu on that day, followed by a popular party, at which all the prominent members of the Cluj Branch of the RNP organization were present.[43]

The Central Executive Committee of the RNP, which met on 17 May in Cluj to finalize the lists of candidates, 'based on the reports received from all parties,' protested against the postponement of the elections and the new distributions of the electoral districts, adopting the following motion:

> The RNP protests against the postponement of the elections for the territory on this side of the mountains, a measure that is as unconstitutional as it is tendentious; it protests against the superficial, irresponsible way in which the constituencies were formed. The distribution done in this way disorientates public opinion and does injustice to the Romanian element. It should be noted, with sorrow, that while the principle established for the Old Kingdom was that no county could have less than four deputies for the lands on this side of the Carpathians, there are seven counties where only three deputies are fixed.[44]

Under those circumstances, the RNP candidates went on electoral tours. Illegalities of the people in power were reported from almost all the counties of Transylvania and Banat. In Uioara commune, Cojocna County, the first pretor of Roșca became the electoral agent of the government, establishing, on 20 May 1920, on Heroes' Day, the organization of the People's Party in the *plasă* and disseminating the party program himself.[45] In the Teaca constituency of Cojocna County the election posters were put up just two days before the last deadline for submitting the candidacy. The representative of the Interior Ministry in Cluj protested against this culpable negligence. Here, too, the agents paid and inebriated by the representatives of the People's Party systematically disturbed, under the eyes of the officials, the electoral meetings of the RNP 'The election posters were put up in the Teaca constituency only two days before the deadline for submitting the candidacy,' according to the *Patria* newspaper:

> Against this culpable negligence, for which all elections could be contested, I protested at the Interior in Cluj. Agents paid and got drunk by the so-called People's Party, systematically disrupt the meetings of the National Party, trying to terrorize candidates and voters alike. At the imposing Assembly held in Teaca on 24 May, such

[42] Patria 1920, no. 107, 3.
[43] Patria 1920, no. 101, 3.
[44] Patria 1920, no. 107, 2.
[45] Patria 1920, no.115, 2.

> agents, at the proclamation of His Majesty's name, shouted 'Long Live Averescu!' without being punished for the moment, by the first pretor who was present and on whose orders the gendarmerie circulated with the spear [bayonet – author's note] on the weapon. The enthusiasm for the National Party is at its peak and if there are no abuses and pressures like those committed under the Hungarians, our success is certain.[46]

The electoral confrontation in Transylvania and Banat, in these elections, can be characterized as a tough struggle between the ruling People's Party, which wanted to consolidate its positions, and the candidates of the RNP, who did not want to lose the political monopoly that they had here before 1918.

The entire Averescan administration focused on the electoral campaign in Transylvania, especially after the campaign in the Old Kingdom ended. All means of electoral propaganda were used to announce the success of the People's Party in the Old Kingdom. The best party speakers were sent from the counties where they had won the election to convince citizens to vote for the ruling party.[47]

In these circumstances, the RNP intensified its electoral campaign, publishing in its official mouthpiece *Patria* the following appeal to the electorate of Transylvania and Banat:

> The voters of the Old Kingdom, Bessarabia and Bukovina, voted for democratic parties, electing a large number of deputies, and the government could not elect a majority except through terror, beating and the interference of the administration.
>
> Transylvania will have the last say. If the government wanted to humiliate Transylvania, by postponing elections only here, you, voters, should be worthy, of the renown of your province, show that Transylvania is a reserve of Greater Romania and vote only the candidates of the National Party, so that, by their overwhelming number, the ranks of democracy may increase where necessary.
>
> The National Party carried out agrarian, electoral and other reforms, with which the life of the Romanian state was built in Transylvania and saved the fate of Romania through Vaida Voevod abroad.
>
> The Union he made in Alba Iulia can only be completed through democratic work with the democratic parties of the other Romanian provinces against the upstart politicians.
>
> To continue the work begun under the Vaida government, and to come to the aid of your peasant brothers in the other provinces, – vote only on the candidates of the National Party.[48]

Another tactic used by the People's Party was to withdraw its candidates from the electoral fiefdoms of the National Party where there was no chance of winning, even in the run-up to the elections. This was meant to buy time until new elections were held. For example, in the Teaca constituency, Cojocna County, the RNP candidate Alexandru Rusu

[46] Patria 1920, no. 112, 2.
[47] Scurtu 1972, 262.
[48] Patria 1920, no. 116, 1.

reached the runoff with the candidate of the People's Party, but the latter withdrew and the decision was made to hold new elections.[49]

Following the elections of 3–4 June 1920, in the Chamber, of the 98 candidacies submitted, the RNP won 27 seats. The People's Party won 69 seats in Transylvania.[50] In total, throughout the country, the RNP managed to win all 27 mandates.[51]

In Cojocna County, of the five electoral districts, the RNP managed to win two deputy seats. In the Gilău constituency, the government candidate, Amos Frâncu obtained 1,192 votes, and Ioan Giurgiu, the RNP candidate, only 625 votes. In the Cluj constituency, the RNP candidate, Aurel Socol obtained 476 votes and managed to defeat the N.L.P. candidate, future Prime Minister Ioan G. Duca, who got only 41 votes. In Huedin, the priest Aurel Munteanu narrowly lost (1,225 votes) to the government candidate, Gavril Lungu, an engineer, who obtained 1,352 votes. In the Electoral District of Hida, the RNP candidate Emil Hațieganu obtained only 893 votes, compared to 2,561, as the government candidate, the well-known archpriest and writer, Elie Daianu, and the candidate Emanuil Moceanu obtained 368 votes. In the Cojocna constituency, 5 candidates were registered in the electoral race: the RNP candidate Sever Dan, who obtained 1,253 votes, the Liberal George Mârzescu 348 votes, government candidate Simion Nemeș 1,655 votes, Aurel Petrovici 320 votes and Mihai Simoșlea 378 votes. With no candidate holding an absolute majority, the second round or the runoff, as it was called at the time, was held on June 13, 1920. Following the elections, the RNP candidate, Sever Dan managed to defeat Simion Nemeș categorically, obtaining 3,698 votes, compared to only 1,171 obtained by the government candidate in the second round.[52]

In the Senate, in the 19 electoral districts of Transylvania, 14 leaders of the RNP obtained the mandate, two being in Cluj County: Aurel Issac, in the Cluj constituency and Eugen Bran, in the Cojocna constituency.[53]

Among the great winners of the RNP, in the Senate, we can also consider Aurel Isac, who managed to defeat Vintilă Brătianu, the brother of the NLP President, Ion I. C. Brătianu in the Cluj constituency. Aurel Isac obtained 210 votes, and Vintilă Brătianu only 21 votes.[54] Also, the government candidate, Toma Stelian was defeated in the Cojocna constituency by the RNP candidate, Eugen Bran. The latter obtained 1,907 votes, compared to the 882

[49] Patria 1920, no. 127, 2.

[50] Ivan 1934, Table IV. Other historical sources (Radu 2000, 235; Constantinescu 1926, 97) claim that the People's Party obtained 84 seats in Transylvania, out of a total of 121, PNL – 4 seats, P.N.R – 23 seats (compared to 170 in 1919), other political parties 10 seats.

[51] Scurtu 1972, 262.

[52] D.A.D. 1920, no. 4, 29.

[53] D.S. 1920, nos. 2–9, 5–65. Here is the list of National Party senators elected in June 1920 and the constituencies in which they received the mandate: 1. Ioan Pascu (constituency: Sânmiclăuș – Timiș Torontal County); 2. Aurel Issac (constituency: Cluj); 3. Mihai Pop (Zalău – Sălaj County); 4. Liviu Micșa (Dej – Solnoc-Dobâca County); 5. Andrei Bârseanu (constituency: Alba Iulia); 6. Iancu Mețianu (constituency: Făgăraş); 7. Alexa Pocol (Baia Mare – Sătmar County); 8. Andrei Ghidiu (Caransebeş – Caraş Severin County); 9. Ion Sâmpălean (Turda – Turda-Arieş County); 10. Ioan Păcurar (Bistriţa); 11. Iuliu Grofşoreanu (Sebeş – Arad County); 12. Iacob Hotăran (Radna – Arad County); 13. Eugen Bran (Cojocna); 14. Alexandru Gheţie (Şimleu – Sălaj County).

[54] D.S. 1920, no. 2, 8. In the Senate, only people over the age of 40 voted according to the electoral law.

votes obtained by Toma Stelian.[55] The RNP Cluj Branch lost only the mandate from the Huedin constituency, where the archpriest Ioan Pop obtained 704 votes, compared to the 1,443 votes of the government candidate Teodor Iacoban, a major. The University College of Cluj presented only one candidate, namely professor Gh. Bogdan Duică, who received the mandate of senator.[56]

In conclusion, the RNP organization of Cluj County carried out a special political activity in the spring of 1920. After the dismissal of the government formed around the RNP, the installation of the government led by General Alexandru Averescu, which abolished the Ruling Council of Transylvania, the Central Executive Committee of the RNP convened the Party Congress for 24 April 1920, in Alba Iulia. The Cluj County Branch started the election campaign just before the Congress. Meetings were organized in all localities, also for electing representatives for the Congress of Alba Iulia. On 21 April 1920, a large assembly was held in Cluj, during which the deputies of Cluj presented their work in Parliament. At the same time, delegates were elected for the Congress of Alba Iulia.

The RNP Congress adopted a draft resolution and the governing bodies were elected. Iuliu Maniu was re-elected as president. Based on the decisions adopted at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918, it adopted a working program, summarized in thirteen chapters.

In the electoral campaign of 1920 two major political groups rivalled one another: the one around the ruling People's Party, versus the parties that constituted the Parliamentary Bloc and had governed before. On the list of candidates of the Cluj County Branch of the RNP were mostly the former MPs of the party and those who had filled certain leadership positions within the Ruling Council.

Despite all the efforts of the ruling People's Party, especially those of Octavian Goga, to prevent RNP propaganda, the latter managed to obtain 27 seats in the House and 14 in the Senate, which placed it in second place among political parties in Romania.[57] The Cluj County Branch of the RNP managed to win, in the chamber, two of the five electoral districts, and in the Senate also two districts, of the three that had been distributed to the county.

An analysis of the legislative elections of 1919 and 1920 (and those that followed) reveals an important problem, that of instability among the Romanian electorate. The results of the first two consultations of the electorate in Greater Romania showed that the party in power, which organized the legislative elections, always managed to win the majority of votes: in 1919 the Ruling Council organized the elections, and the RNP obtained 170 seats of Deputies out of 205; a year later, the People's Party organized the elections, managing to win 84 seats out of 121 in Transylvania, compared to 23 of the RNP.[58]

Another conclusion would be that, starting with these parliamentary elections, Transylvania and Banat were to be permeated more and more by the parties of the Old Kingdom, establishing branches in all counties. They had some success with the electorate

[55] D.S. 1920, no. 7, 63.

[56] D.S. 1920, no. 2, 8.

[57] See Scurtu 1994, 17.

[58] Radu 2000, 243; Constantinescu 1926, 97.

only when they held power in the state and organized elections. The RNP still remained the party with the largest grip on the electorate of Transylvania and Banat, and Cluj became the political capital of Transylvania.

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MEDICAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN CLUJ DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD. CASE STUDIES: THE 'COSMUȚA,' 'PARK,' 'CHARITÉ,' AND 'LENGYEL' SANATORIUMS

GHIZELA COSMA*

Abstract: Several private hospital ventures developed in Cluj, an important medical center, between the two World Wars. This article presents four case studies, namely private sanatoriums established in Cluj at the initiative of individual entrepreneurs: the 'Cosmuța,' 'Park,' 'Charité,' and 'Lengyel' Sanatoriums. Based on these, a number of characteristics of interwar Cluj medical entrepreneurship can be outlined.

Keywords: Cluj, interwar, health, hospitals, entrepreneurship

Rezumat: În Clujul interbelic, important centru medical al timpului, în sfera spitalicească, s-au dezvoltat o serie de așezăminte private. Articolul prezintă patru studii de caz, sanatorii particulare clujene, născute ca inițiative individuale: Sanatoriul „Cosmuța", Sanatoriul „Parc", Sanatoriul „Charité" și Sanatoriul „Lengyel". Pe baza acestora se pot contura o serie de caracteristici ale antreprenoriatului-medical clujean interbelic.

Cuvinte cheie: Cluj, interbelic, sănătate, spitale, antreprenoriat

Introduction

Cluj was an important medical center during the interwar period. The core hospitals were university clinics. The most important of these will be listed below. With the 'Carolina' Public Hospital as their precursor (founded in 1811), university clinics developed in connection with the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Cluj. Inaugurated in 1901, the clinics initially bore the name of the 'Carolina' Hospital. Subsequently, the whole complex was referred to as the University Clinics.[1] In addition to these, we could mention the Military Hospital, which was taken over by the Romanian National Guard from the former Austro-Hungarian army on 1 February 1919. This was known as the Military Hospital of the Army Corps, based in the Cluj garrison, in Tunarilor St. at that time.[2] On 9 April 1919, the Women's Hospital was founded. It is generally regarded as the first Romanian public health settlement in Cluj. Its management was entrusted to doctor Dominic Stanca, whose name was later assigned to this hospital institution, a name under which it is still known today. The hospital's articles of incorporation stated that the institution was the property of the state.[3]

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[1] Marin 2004, 37, 40, 47–49.

[2] Baltaru, Gâtlan 2014, 10.

[3] Bokor 2016, 53–72.

The category of private hospital medical services included those provided by the Jewish Hospital, established through the efforts of the local Jewish community. An outpatient clinic was opened in 1928, a hospital subsection with 28 beds for the specialties of surgery, gynecology, ophthalmology and radiology was created in 1929, and in September 1931 a new multi-story building of the hospital was inaugurated. It had 85 beds and provided services in all medical specialties.[4] This hospital category also included the Reformed Hospital. In 1926, Sándor Makkai founded the Deaconess Institute in Târgu-Mureş, where deaconesses were trained how to care of the sick and orphans. In the late 1920s, this institute moved to Cluj, and in 1932, the Reformed Deaconess Hospital was founded here. Its medical staff consisted of doctors and deaconess nurses. The Red Cross Hospital, founded in 1895 by the local branch of the Red Cross, operated in Cluj until 1929, having taken the name of the 'Maria-Elizabeth' Red Cross Hospital in 1898. In 1929, the hospital was taken over by the Ministry of Health and the first Cancer Research Institute was established here.[5]

To these were added hospital institutions born as individual, private initiatives. Among these were the Cluj sanatoriums that are the subject of our research: 'Cosmuța,' 'Park,' 'Charité,' and 'Lengyel.'

The 'Cosmuța' Sanatorium

According to indirect information, gleaned from the press of time, doctor Adalbert Cosmuța was born in 1875 or 1876.[6] The fact that his name was associated with *de Csernyefalva* in pre-war Hungarian publications suggests that he was descended from Cernești in Maramureș. In fact, his surname was very common among the inhabitants of this settlement.[7] Different spellings of his name could be found in the Romanian or Hungarian newspapers of that time (*Cosmuța*, *Cosmutza*, *Cozmuța*, *Cozmutza*, *Kozmutza*, *Kosmutza*, etc.). His first name, Adalbert, appeared in the Hungarian press also as Béla, while in the Romanian periodicals we have also encountered the variant Beu.

We do not have data on the doctor's parents or the schools he attended. Information about him is more consisted after 1910, when he became the director of the Városmajor Sanatorium in Buda. In 1910, the newspaper *Drapelul* announced that 'We have received very good news from Budapest, saying that our well-known physician Dr. A. Cosmuța was elected the other day Chief Director of the Városmajor sanatorium in the capital.'[8]

A renowned doctor, Cosmuța was also famous in Transylvania, and many Romanians turned to his services. Numerous Romanian publications in Transylvania, including the *Foaia Diecezană*[9] or *Ziarul Libertatea*,[10] advertised the Városmajor Sanatorium. Cosmuța was known by the Romanians in Budapest, as he always attended Romanian cultural events. He helped the Romanian students there with smaller or larger amounts of money and contributed to supporting the 'Petru Maior' Society.[11]

[4] Gaal 2016, 95–102.
[5] Gaal 2011a, 61–62; Gaal 2014, 263.
[6] Keleti Újság 1932a, 9; Keleti Újság 1935b, 7.
[7] Ștef 2019.
[8] Berényi 1991, 171. All the quotations in this paper were translated from Romanian to English by Carmen Borbély.
[9] Berényi 2009, 67.
[10] Libertatea 1914, 6.
[11] Berényi 2009, 60.

During the war period, specifically in 1917, newspapers reported on Cosmuța the military doctor. The newspaper *Nyirvidék* presented the hospital organized by Colonel Doctor Cosmuța in Nyiregyháza. This was a hospital colony established on the site of the prisoner-of-war camp. 'With an iron will and love for the sick,' the above-mentioned article stated, the doctor soon turned the POW camp into a modern hospital, despite the fact that it was located in a place separated from the city by a sea of mud. Although he had invested a lot of effort in organizing this hospital, Cosmuța announced his decision to go to the front. 'This exceptional organizer, with tremendous energy and tireless love of work, is now leaving the hospital and volunteering for work on the front,' the article said, adding that: 'Cosmuța was a real parent for the sick soldiers, he provided them with decent conditions, and now, when he could reap the fruits of his labor, he wants to go to the front, where he will be the commander of a camp hospital.'[12]

In 1915, doctor Cosmuța, a specialist in lung diseases, bought a plot of 1,250 sqm, with a garden and a house on Gruia St., on the corner with Șerpuitoare St. In 1916–1918, he built pavilions for the sick and outbuildings next to them. He treated people who suffered from tuberculosis, in various stages of evolution. The sanatorium had a Röentgen apparatus, a laboratory, a kitchen, a laundry, a stable and a morgue.[13]

In 1932, the newspaper *Keleti Újság* published a description of the sanatorium, under the title *Látogatás a Cosmutza Szanatoriumban* ['A visit to the Cosmuța Sanatorium']: 'There is hardly anyone in our city who has not heard the name of the 'Cozmutza' Lung Sanatorium, but how small is the number of those – even among the old dwellers of Cluj, who have seen it for real…. Far from the city noise, the sanatorium is located on the top of the Fortress,' the article reported.[14] The article continued to give a description of the establishment. Once inside, the visitor first entered a park, being met, not far from the entrance, by the statue of Robert Koch. The sanatorium was organized as a system of five pavilions, built according to the model of sanatoriums abroad. It provided comfort, given its modern and hygienic layout. Bed areas were also organized outside, for sun cures that could be enjoyed by the patients of the sanatorium.[15] 'On our visit,' the article said, 'many of the sick, smothered in blankets, lay in the open air. The areas were separate for women and for men. Flushing cheeks because of the cold did not create the impression of people who suffered from lung disease. The atmosphere was cheerful and, when asked, everyone hastened to talk about their weight gain, 5–10 kg, even 15 kg, and these cases were not rare. Those with a fever lay in rooms with open windows.'[16] The rooms were large, tastefully arranged, making the patients forget that they were in a hospital. The sanatorium was equipped with a newly furnished laboratory, therapy rooms, a Röntgen chamber, etc. A small church had been built in the park of the sanatorium, and was to be consecrated. Everything was quiet and clean. The sanatorium, the article went on to say, had achieved results recognized by various medical establishments. The Minister of Health had acknowledged them during his visit to Cluj, when he stated that the example of this sanatorium deserved to be followed.[17]

[12] Nyirvidék 1917, 2.
[13] Marin 2004, 148.
[14] Keleti Újság 1932b, 2.
[15] Keleti Újság 1932b, 2.
[16] Keleti Újság 1932b, 2.
[17] Keleti Újság 1932b, 2.

Doctor Cosmuța also owned two sanatoriums, one in Bucharest, another in Predeal. We have only minimal information about the sanatorium in Bucharest, such as the fact that it had 40 beds.[18] The one in Predeal was built in 1934, on the Râșnoavei Valley. In this initiative, the Cluj-based doctor collaborated with doctors Câmpeanu, Teodoreanu, and Popper. The elegant TBC sanatorium was located in a building erected in the art deco style, with a basement, a ground floor and two upper stories. The building was designed by the architect Marcel Iancu, well known for the edifices had created in Bucharest. The medical center had 50 rooms, a library, a dining room, a living room, a lounge and a solarium. The craftsman-style interior design was provided by the famous American company Gustav Stickley. The sanatorium also had a ski slope.[19]

A portrait of the doctor and entrepreneur Cosmuța was sketched in the publication *Keleti Újság*:

> He was an extremely hard-working man, an energetic man, he never had a moment's rest, continually looked for new ideas, strove to conceive new projects and, after the establishment of the sanatorium to which he gave his name, he also founded health institutes in Bucharest and Predeal. He was an exceptionally nice man and, thanks to his kind manner, he was generally very popular.[20]

His love for his patients surpassed ethnic and linguistic boundaries. As the same newspaper pointed out, 'It is perhaps of little import, but still significant that he never spoke to Hungarians in any language other than Hungarian.'[21] He was, as his medical establishments proved, a successful medical entrepreneur, an excellent organizer. Cosmuța worked with the Social Care services and had many clients.[22] As for his family life, we know from the newspapers that he was married, then divorced. He had a daughter, Clotid, who was living with her mother in Graz, in Austria, at the time of her father's death.[23] Adalbert Cosmuța died at the age of 59, on December 24, 1935, after a period of long and intense suffering.[24]

Cosmuța's legacy of 10 million lei became the subject of prolonged lawsuits. He died without apparently leaving a will, which meant that the estate was to pass into the property of his daughter in Graz. The inheritance procedure was under way when the former chief nurse of the 'Cosmuța' Sanatorium presented to the authorities a letter that had been addressed to her by the doctor, in which he declared that he wished his sanatoriums to be owned by the state, so that the proceeds would be go to help poor children. He also thought of his daughter, to whom he left only a monthly income of 15,000 lei. He had empowered Judge Victor Pop, one of his close friends, to fulfil his last wishes. Pop informed the ministry about the wish of the deceased, and the ministry made the management decisions until a public foundation that would administer the inheritance was set up. A lengthy trial

[18] Gusti 1938, 581.
[19] UCT Media 2010.
[20] Keleti Újság 1935b, 7.
[21] Keleti Újság 1935b, 7.
[22] Marin 2004 148.
[23] Keleti Újság 1937a, 4.
[24] Keleti Újság 1935b, 7.

followed between the Romanian state and the daughter of the deceased, who demanded the annulment of the will.[25] In 1948, both the Predeal and the Cluj sanatoriums were nationalized. The one in Predeal was initially transformed into a Climate Institute.[26] The sanatorium in Cluj became a home for students from the Polytechnic, and then a special school for the hearing-impaired.[27] Today, it is the only school for children with hearing disabilities with Hungarian as the language of instruction. The school is named after Flóra Kozmutza, a renowned practitioner and innovator in the field of special pedagogy and psychology.

The 'Park' Sanatorium

Another Cluj sanatorium of the era was the 'Park' Sanatorium, managed by the doctor Mátyás Mátyás. Of Jewish origin, he was the son of Albert Mátyás[28] and was born in Borsec, Harghita County, on 26 February 1886. He attended primary school in Ditrău, and graduated the first two years of high school in Budapest, after which he transferred to Brașov, where he took the baccalaureate exam in 1905. He enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj. In 1911, he defended his doctorate and was appointed teaching assistant at the Dermatological Clinic. Shortly afterwards, he was promoted assistant professor at the Gynecology and Obstetrics Clinic, then at the Surgery Clinic in Cluj. Meanwhile, he specialized in maxillofacial surgery in Gratz, Austria. From 1919 to 1923, he worked as a surgeon at the 'Carolina'-White Cross Hospital in Cluj.[29]

On 20 February 1923, he opened his own sanatorium in Cluj, on today's Moților St., where he worked as director and head physician until 1948. Called the 'Park' Sanatorium, it was located near the Central Park.[30] Mátyás Mátyás extended it in time, adding a building to the first two already functional pavilions. In 1928, he opened the hydrotherapy bath.[31] Since the water filtered from the Mill Channel did not meet the standards of doctor Mátyás, and the water from the city's supply system would have been too expensive, he ordered deep-soil drilling.[32] A space was created where hydrotherapy was done, in line with the latest treatment programs in Europe. There was daily access to the bath tubs, which made it possible for the patients to take care of their personal hygiene, along with treatment they received. This was all the more so since, at that time, public baths were in high demand in Cluj. The sanatorium baths opened their doors at five in the morning, and women had access on different days than men did.[33] Doctor Mátyás extended this kind of enterprise to Cojocna. After opening the baths there, he bought a plot on which he built another sanatorium.[34]

[25] Keleti Újság 1937a, 4; Keleti Újság 1940, 6.
[26] UCT Media 2010.
[27] Marin 2004, 148.
[28] Keleti Újság 1935a, 7.
[29] Marin 2004, 147; Fornade 2007, 348; Bârsu 2018, 136.
[30] Marin 2004, 147; Bârsu 2018, 136.
[31] Societatea de mâine 1928, 96.
[32] Balogh 1931, 13.
[33] Cluj Web Story 2017.
[34] Keleti Újság 1936, 10.

The magazine *Societatea de mâine* offered a description of the sanatorium in Cluj in 1928:

> In the large and bright waiting room, with the walls tastefully painted by the painter of the Romanian opera, master Widman, with modern furniture and a string of crystal lamps – Dr. Mátyás is waiting for us, with his phalanx of collaborating doctors, dressed in white robes. They have all cleared their schedules and are ready to show us the halls, the wards and the floors of this huge sanatorium. …
> We first walked down to the sanatorium baths, with its many chambers. We passed through the great hall with its 69 cabins for the public, where people can deposit their clothes, before going down into the bath chamber. We walked into a hall with three large pools, all decorated with white and green fine tiles, whose elegant simplicity is impressive. To the sides are the ante-bathroom, the gym, the steam room, the dry air room, the massage section, the rubbing and drying room, the manicure and pedicure lounge, the rest room, and everything is modelled after the system of the 'Gellért' Baths in Budapest, or the 'Diana and Amalia' Baths in Vienna. …
> We took an elevator to the third floor, where the cheaper rooms of the sanatorium are located: beautifully furnished, all facing the sun, to the right and to the left, painted with restful colors for the eyes.
> Here the rooms are cheaper, at 350 lei per day, with an all-inclusive board, naturally, without the medical consultation. A hotel room costs just as much today, and that's without breakfast, lunch and dinner. Is this sanatorium not the best place of refuge, of rest, of respite for intellectuals with weakened nerves, who are not very well-off?
> The rooms on the first and second floors are more elegant, more comfortable, but they are not much more expensive. 560 lei per day at most, with an all-inclusive board.
> The kitchen is arranged on the top floor, so that the smell of food does not penetrate into the rooms of the sanatorium.[35]

Doctor Mátyás was a good and very intrepid surgeon. He was a daredevil of surgical interventions in cases of advanced malignant or benign tumors, some with metastases, considered inoperable by other surgeons, and he often managed to successfully remove them. The operated patients benefited from histopathological examination. The doctor used the latest medical-surgical methods and practices. He possessed radium and his medical devices were adapted for the application of local radium therapy.[36] He was, moreover, the first doctor in Transylvania to acquire radium, which he used for therapeutic purposes.[37]

Mátyás Mátyás was a man with an extraordinary working ethic. He worked 16–17 hours every day and would start surgery at four in the morning, his preferred time for these operations. After that, he worked late and only in the evening did he have a few hours to live and enjoy his favorite pastimes, music and intellectual, scientific research.[38]

When asked by a reporter, during an interview, whether he was still working 16–17 hours a day, the doctor replied:

[35] Societatea de mâine 1928, 96.
[36] Marin 2004, 148.
[37] Fornade 2007, 349.
[38] Keleti Újság 1933, 8.

> At least I'm trying. I still always have more than five hours to sleep. Besides, I couldn't sleep longer anyway. Unfortunately, I can't get rid of my habit to do everything by myself. On the other hand, I have little time left for scientific work. In the last 20 years, I have, however, written 23 studies, scientific articles. They usually appeared in German publications… Since I was a young doctor, I have been interested in individual scientific experiments and research. I have experimented with new treatments, new interventions, operations, I have purchased all the necessary instruments, I did not even think about the material risks, and thus, slowly, slowly, practically unnoticed, today's sanatorium has developed… I wanted to provide treatment in the sanatorium to the less well-off as well, and if I have a good reputation as a doctor, it was built for me by these poor and simple patients. And yet again, the wealthier patients of the sanatorium have made it possible for me to maintain it.[39]

The 'Park' Sanatorium in Cluj was thus particularly popular and the entire elite of Cluj preferred to undergo surgery here. Doctor Mátyás Mátyás performed more than 65,000 surgeries.[40]

His scientific research was prolific, focusing on a wide range of issues, especially digestive and gynecological surgery. He published over 160 scientific papers in various medical journals throughout his life.[41]

Mátyás Mátyás was a great consumer of culture when he had the necessary respite to engage in his passions. He had an extensive musical culture, being known as a violinist. He was a lover of literature and wrote the theatre plays *Korházi életkép* ['Scenes of Hospital Life'] and *Az Orvos* ['The Doctor']. He also loved films, and could be seen especially at the former Capitol Cinema, in the first rows, among the commoners.[42]

Asked in an interview if he was a happy man, he replied: 'Happy. Definitely happy. For me, work, uninterrupted activity, means the greatest joy. And it makes me and my family happy.'[43] He was married to Ilona, an artist and opera singer, with whom he had three children: Ilona, Klára, and Mátyás. They all attended higher education and made careers in literature, architecture and medicine. Mátyás Mátyás was an ideal husband and father.[44]

During the anti-Jewish persecution, the doctor was exempted from compulsory labor and survived the hard times.[45] From November 1948 to 1949, he was senior consultant surgeon at Emergency State Hospital no. 4 in Cluj. In the last period of his life, from 1949 until his death, he became Professor of Surgery at the Faculty of Medicine in Târgu-Mureş.[46] He died in Târgu-Mureş on 31 December 1956 and was buried in the Central Cemetery of Cluj.[47]

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[39] Keleti Újság 1933, 8.
[40] Marin 2004, 148.
[41] Fornade 2007, 349.
[42] Fornade 2007, 349; Bârsu 2018, 137; Marin 2004, 148.
[43] Keleti Újság 1933, 8.
[44] Marin 2004, 148.
[45] Gidó 2017, 121.
[46] Bârsu 2018, 136.
[47] Fornade 2007, 348.

As for his sanatorium in Cluj, in 1943, the Hungarian state bought the sanatorium building facing the street, a building in which the 'Harghita' Hotel had operated upstairs since the 1940s, and whose baths were located on the ground floor. The intention was to turn it into a children's clinic. This reorganization of the building would also lead to the removal of the baths, even though there was only one other establishment of this kind that still operated in the city.[48] In 1948, the 'Park' Sanatorium was on the list of the 95 private institutions nationalized by Decree 302 of 3 November 1948, with the amendment published in issue no. 265 of the Official Gazette of 12 November 1948.[49] Today, it is the headquarters of the Pediatric Clinic and the Children's Emergency Clinical Hospital.

The 'Charité' Sanatorium

Another famous sanatorium of the era was that of Doctor Pál Steiner. He was born in Pápa, Hungary, on 5 February 1879 and died in Cluj on 12 September 1959. He obtained his medical degree in Budapest, after which he carried out a series of specializations in Vienna, Paris, Bonn and Berlin. In 1907, he settled in Cluj, working as an assistant at the Surgery Clinic and then developing an academic career.[50]

During the war, he was a surgeon at the Military Hospital. After this hospital was shut down, he operated at the 'Maria-Elizabeth' Red Cross Sanatorium in Cluj until 1929.[51]

Doctor Pál Steiner contributed to the establishment of the Jewish Hospital in Cluj. As early as 1920, he supported this initiative and was a leading force in the efforts to carry it through. When the four wards of the hospital were opened in 1929, Pál Steiner was the head of the surgical department and director of this hospital. He would resign from this position in 1930, with the opening of his own sanatorium.[52] After 1940, he resumed his academic work,[53] and in 1941 he sold his private sanatorium. During the anti-Jewish persecution, he was saved from internment in the ghetto and deportation by the intervention of Sándor Vita.[54]

His scientific activity was reflected in his publications, especially in the field of surgery and urology. His first study appeared in 1901 in *Orvosi Hetilap*, a journal whose contributor and reviewer he became. His chief work is a 500-page study, published in 1916 and entitled *Sebészeti műttéttan*, ['Course of Surgical Practice']. He published in various specialized journals and did not interrupt his scientific activity even when he managed and worked at his own sanatorium.[55]

Last but not least, he was actively involved in various associations. He was a member of the Medical Sciences branch of the Transylvanian Museum Society, holding conferences that later saw the light of print. In 1907, he became a member of the Hungarian Surgical Association, lecturing at its meetings. In the interwar period, more precisely in 1930, he was active in the 'Paul Ehrlich' Medical Sciences Society of the Jewish doctors and, in 1936, he was elected chairman of the Charitable Society of Minority Doctors in Romania. In 1953,

[48] Keleti Újság 1943, 2.
[49] Bărbulescu 2009, 170–173, 342–348.
[50] Gaal 2010; Petraș 2000, 302.
[51] Gaal 2010.
[52] Gaal 2016, 96–98.
[53] Gaal 2010.
[54] Löwy 1998, 154.
[55] Gaal 2010.

he was awarded the diploma of the Budapest Society of Medical Sciences, in recognition of his entire medical activity.[56]

The sanatorium of doctor Steiner, where he also worked as a specialist in surgery and urology, opened in 1929, under the name of the 'Charité' Sanatorium. The building in which it was located was built by the Barons Wesselényi,[57] apparently becoming the property of the Romanian state in 1919. According to some testimonies, Steiner had leased the building, his guarantor being the well-known doctor Dominic Stanca.[58]

The private medical institution was inaugurated with a press conference on 12 July 1929, when it was opened to visiting journalists. Their reports allow us today to have a perspective on this medical establishment.

At the entrance there was an elegant hallway. Exemplary cleanliness could be seen in the aisles, the lounges, the social spaces, and the dining room. All these were organized and arranged in a Western European spirit.[59]

The bathrooms were located in the basement and could be reached by elevator, foreshadowing a hydrotherapy institute, also structured according to the Western European model. Here were boilers and water heaters. The tubs were located in individual boxes, equipped with rest areas. Next to each tub was placed a small cauldron, in which medicinal herbs were boiled. Sulphur, mud, or other types of curative baths could be used. The showers and the sauna were also located here.[60]

The ground floor was occupied by laboratories and outpatient clinics. The operating room was also modern, equipped with instruments, sterilizers, and medical devices. Under a Zeiss-type lamp, a special lamp that did not project shadows, used at that time only in America and Western Europe, was the operating table, also of the latest generation. It was mobile and could be rotated and positioned according to needs. A radio was installed in this room, so that patients with local anesthesia could listen to music during the intervention.[61]

The perspective of the salons that opened to each other, the walls of an immaculate white, and the sheen of the instruments inspired a sense of cleanliness and comfort. Separate rooms for parents and children were designed. They were arranged according to the most rigorous principles of hygiene. The kitchen also offered ritual food.[62]

The urology and gynecology departments were equipped with modern diagnostic and treatment tools. So were the cardiology, internal medicine, otorhinolaryngology or radiology sections. The sanatorium had a modern Röntgen apparatus. There was an electrotherapy room. In general, the sanatorium used the most modern techniques in the treatment of patients.[63] To this was added the well-trained medical personnel. In 1934, the work of nurses was taken over by nuns of the Order of Paulai Szent Vincze, who offered their services to the medical establishment.[64]

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[56] Gaal 2010.

[57] Gaal 2014, 142.

[58] Marin 2004, 149.

[59] Ellenzék 1929a, 2.

[60] Ellenzék 1929a, 2.

[61] Ellenzék 1929a, 2.

[62] Ellenzék 1929a, 2.

[63] Ellenzék 1929b, 2

[64] Ellenzék 1934, 7.

The sanatorium started with 60 beds for the sick, a number that could increase if needed, to 80. Patients could choose their doctor. The price of hospitalization was 250 lei per day, about the price of a good hotel at that time.[65] When asked if being a patient here was not a luxury, Doctor Steiner said: 'It can't be, dear. It would be unhealthy to rely only on rich sick people. Then again, such an enterprise cannot be expensive for the sheer fact that it would lose its specific ethics. And neither myself nor my fellow doctors, who work in unison here, would like this.'[66] But it was obvious that not everyone could afford access to such a private institution, although prices had to be reset because of competition from other hospitals in the city and of the economic crisis. In 1931, it was announced that, 'taking into account the economic crisis and the conditions of greater poverty, a new section has been opened in order to grant the access of the middle class to the hospital, in case of illness. The fee for access to this section is 150–200 lei, which covers dietetic food and treatment. Accordingly, the price of some services (operations, medicines) has also dropped.'[67] Then, in 1934, a cheaper clinic was opened where patients were cared for at prices similar to those in state clinics.[68]

However, in 1941, the sanatorium was sold to the Hungarian Railways. The hospital of the Hungarian Railways was inaugurated in place of the sanatorium on 27 April 1942. The announced costs, which included acquisition and fitting-out expenses, amounted to 750,000 pengö.[69] Later, after the Second World War, the hospital of the Romanian Railways incorporated this structure and that is how the current C.F.R. Clinical Hospital was born.[70]

The 'Lengyel' Sanatorium

The fourth sanatorium we shall discuss is that managed by doctor Lengyel Miklós. He was also of Jewish origin, born in 1896. Lengyel Miklós graduated from Medical School in Berlin, where he specialized in general surgery and gynecology. In 1921, he completed his medical studies in Cluj, working under the direction of internist Prof. Dr. Elfer Aladár. Until the late 1930s, he was an extra-budgetary teaching assistant, then a budgeted teaching assistant at the Dermato–Venereological Clinic of the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj, under the direction of Coriolan Tătaru. In parallel, in the 1930s, he worked as a doctor in the private sanatorium of Mátyás Mátyás.[71] In addition to his clinical duties, Doctor Lengyel was a member of the Romanian Society of Dermatology and published studies in medical journals in Cluj. He was respected in the Cluj medical community.[72]

Invited by doctor Aladár Elfer, Miklós Lengyel came to help him care for the father of his future wife, Olga Bernát-Bernard, who gained fame through the memorial volume *Souvenirs de l'au-delà*,[73] in which she shared her own experience of the Auschwitz camp,

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[65] Magyar Nép 1929, 529.

[66] Ellenzék 1929a, 2.

[67] Ellenzék 1931, 4.

[68] Ellenzék 1934, 7.

[69] Keleti Újság 1942, 8.

[70] Marin 2004, 149.

[71] Bârsu 2018, 137–138.

[72] Turda 2016, 69–82.

[73] The memoirs were first published in French in 1946, then translated into English in 1947 and titled *I Survived Hitler's Ovens*. The subsequent editions of the book were renamed *Five Chimneys: A Woman*

where she was deported with the whole family. Miklós Lengyel's future wife had attended the 'Marianum' Roman Catholic Institute for Girls, then studied literature and geography at the 'Ferdinand I' University of Cluj. She became interested in medicine after her marriage to Doctor Miklós Lengyel in 1924. She studied to become his assistant. Two children completed the idyllic life of this family: Thomas and Artved. The latter, a Jewish child, was adopted, having been orphaned by both parents.[74]

In 1937, Doctor Lengyel opened his own clinic on the present-day Crişan St. known at first as the 'Lengyel' Hospital and later as the 'Lengyel' Sanatorium, it specialized in obstetrics and gynecology.[75] The newspaper *Keleti Újság* announced in July its imminent opening: 'Doctors and lay people alike are talking about the new sanatorium of Dr. Lengyel, which will be opening its doors at the end of the month.' A brief presentation of this luxurious new medical facility followed.[76] In October, the same newspaper already wrote about the functional sanatorium of the doctor:

> The new Dr. Lengyel Sanatorium is the most modern medical institution in Romania, surrounded by a large park, in the center. Each room has a balcony. It has a terrace of 300 m above the building where one can do sunbathing and air therapy all day long. Modernized operating and delivery rooms. Cold and hot running water in every room. Medical institute with curative water. For intestinal ailments, constipation, kidney stones, and the results are exceptional. Electrotherapy: ultrashort rays and other treatments. Modern Röntgen layout. Laboratory. The terrace above is unparalleled in Romania and is good for treating glands in children. Slimming and fattening cures. Dietetic cuisine. They receive any sick except for contagious patients. It is suitable for patients who need healing and rest. Moderate costs. The institute also offers ritual cuisine.[77]

In her memoirs, Olga Lengyel wrote the following:

> I too had devoted myself to medicine. I studied at the University of Cluj and considered myself entitled to be my husband's first assistant surgeon. I contributed to the finishes of the new hospital by putting in its decoration all the affection that a woman feels for color and refreshed its interior according to the style in fashion.[78]

The happy family lived in a space connected to the hospital. Their happiness ended because of the tragedy they were forced to go through along with many, very many other Jews during the Holocaust: 'But beyond my profession, I felt even prouder of my little family,' Olga Lengyel confessed, 'a family that was complete with our two sons: Thomas and Arved. It seemed to me that no one was happier than us. I lived with my parents and

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Survivor's True Story of Auschwitz. The Romanian translation is known as *Cuptoarele lui Hitler*.

[74] Turda 2016, 69–82.

[75] Turda 2016, 69–82.

[76] Keleti Újság 1937b, 13.

[77] Keleti Újság 1937c, 12.

[78] Lengyel 1986, 6.

my godfather, Professor Aladár Elfer, a renowned internist who had devoted himself to studying and researching cancer.'[79]

About her husband, Olga Lengyel proudly wrote that:

> Everyone respected him for his professional talent and for having devoted himself to science. He did not deal with politics, although he understood well that we were at the center of a real **maelstrom** and in constant danger. He had no time for other concerns. He would often visit a hundred and twenty patients a day and deal with surgery until the night.[80]

Regarding her husband's nature, she noted:

> My husband also liked to do charity work. I never heard him say **no** to someone running to him for help. He never saw in his patients a means of making money. Both his friends and other doctors and hospital employees often said that people abused his kindness, but he remained faithful to his principle: he would rather have others abuse him than refuse a favor to the one who needed it. Our hospital had been built and furnished to be a luxury hospital, but I often wondered if it wasn't a paradise for the poor. It was a real miracle that, despite my two 'financial geniuses' (my godfather and my husband), who never, in their entire lives, wondered how much the hospital's income amounted to, the sanatorium of Dr. Lengyel always worked very successfully.[81]

The fact that the sanatorium was able to function until 1944, reveals a certain tolerance towards the Jewish doctors in Cluj. However, in early 1944, Miklós Lengyel was summoned to the Gestapo headquarters, interrogated and accused of boycotting German medicines and tools in his clinic. At that time, his explanations were enough to be released, although he was aware that he was constantly supervised. Soon, however, he was picked up again and taken to the Gestapo headquarters. Worried and wanting to save him, his wife, Olga, would succumb to the blackmail of one of the employees of the sanatorium, Doctor Osvath, who, in exchange for her husband's release thanks to his interventions with the Gestapo, had asked her to sign two rental acts, namely the sale of the sanatorium and the family home. The next day, her husband was released, but doctor Osvath had occupied his office and hospital, and the dwelling had to be evacuated as quickly as possible, she had to pack and hand over all the valuables in the house. Moreover, the Lengyel family was asked to vacate the hospital beds then occupied by Olga's father, who had recently undergone surgery, and her godfather, Doctor Aladár Elfer, who was terminally ill with cancer. The plan for the family taking refuge in a hideout in the milkman's house was initially rejected, but later – too late – it was reconsidered. Doctor Lengyel was again summoned to the Gestapo, for a so-called medical commission. The news that Doctor Lengyel was going to be deported, and the train to Germany was going to start in a few hours, panicked his wife. Misled, on the one hand, by the information provided by the Gestapo, where she was told that her

[79] Lengyel 1986, 6.
[80] Lengyel 1986, 6.
[81] Lengyel 1986, 33.

husband would be sent to Germany because there was a shortage of doctors, and hoping, on the other hand, that the situation was not so serious, Olga finally made the decision to accompany him. She was joined by her parents and, of course, their children, who could not be left behind. It was one of the decisions she, as the only Holocaust survivor in her family, would regret for the rest of her life.[82]

In the camp, Miklós Lengyel was recruited to work for the Buna-Monowitz Prisoners' Hospital (HKB).[83] He met his wife very briefly during this period of ordeal. She bitterly recounts that:

> I was very painfully shocked when I saw my husband again. He, who has always been so picky and scrupulous when it comes to clothing – Dr. Miklós Lengyel, the director of a sanatorium, a surgeon, a splendid human specimen – he now had a pitiful appearance: he was dirty, ragged and powerless; he had a shaved head and wore the clothes of a criminal. He also looked at me with eyes that couldn't believe what they saw… Twenty years of intense effort, toil and illusions of the future, just to end up there as slaves of the Third Reich![84]

Recalling another fleeting encounter of the spouses, at the hospital in Buna, Olga noted:

> How weak and aged he was; his face sunken and his hair greyish. Under his white medic blouse, I spotted his jailbird pants. We didn't say hello, so the SS guards wouldn't notice what was going on… We both felt so lost and inhibited that we didn't know what to talk about. So much had happened since our last meeting! How could we have uttered a word, when all our thoughts were overwhelmed with bitterness? We both had on our lips the names of our sons, my parents, and so many friends that we had seen perish. But neither of us said any names.[85]

It was also the last meeting between the two. The death of Doctor Miklós Lengyel is recounted in Olga Lengyel's memorial notes:

> Some time later, I found out how he had died. A former French prisoner, released, wrote to me that camp Buna had been evacuated and the prisoners had been sent on a long march. Despite the categorical orders of the Nazis, my husband stopped marching to help a French prisoner who had collapsed to the ground. He tried to give the poor man an injection to make him recover so he could march on, but an SS guard immediately opened fire and killed them both.[86]

According to other sources, doctor Miklós Lengyel was killed by typhus shortly before he was about to be released.[87]

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[82] Lengyel 1986, 24–42.
[83] Bacon 2017, 83.
[84] Lengyel 1986, 70.
[85] Lengyel 211.
[86] Lengyel 1986, 213.
[87] Vass 2015, 199.

The 'Lengyel' Sanatorium survived the war. Between 1946 and 1949, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee made unsuccessful attempts to establish a medical center for Jewish tuberculosis patients. In 1948, Olga Lengyel tried to sell the property to the Department of Public Health, which had requisitioned it, most likely, in 1946. However, it was too late, as all private property was nationalized in Romania in 1948.[88] Today, the Pediatric Clinic II operates on Crişan St., in the building of the former sanatorium and in the Lengyel house.

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The cases presented above highlight four Cluj-based doctors of the interwar period and their entrepreneurial works. The personalities we have focused on were practitioners whose medical experience contributed to the renown of the businesses they set up. They were trained by prestigious mentors in the public medical sector. Subsequently, all these doctors-entrepreneurs worked in the private medical sector, before starting their own hospitals. Last but not least, they all benefited from specializations abroad, which allowed them primarily to acquire new medical skills, but also to have direct access to techniques, innovative therapies, and close knowledge of European standards in the field.

The adoption of Western European models in the private medical field was a genuine trend, an indicator of local progress in the field. The creation of private medical establishments similar to those in Western Europe required knowledge of the latter. The efforts to arrange and equip these hospitals, to create services, to select personnel corresponding to the standards of these models were guarantors of quality and attractiveness and amounted to a first step towards building customer trust. Not coincidentally, these entrepreneurial projects carefully structured their buildings and equipped them with medical devices, instruments, and furniture. This care went to the smallest of details and envisaged not only the technical qualities of the purchased apparatuses or tools, but also the hygiene and the design of the space. All actions converged towards offering services at the highest standards, from accommodation and food, to innovative treatments and therapies. To these was added a profitable personnel policy, primarily through the recruitment of valuable doctors and auxiliary personnel to ensure the quality of the medical act itself.

Since the costs of investments had to be recovered and the business had to bring profit, the fee charged by these institutions limited their accessibility to some better-off social categories. On the other hand, in the medical field, the ability to manage one's own business had to take into account competition, economic evolution, and a price strategy that could attract clientele. Lower prices could become attractive in general, they could be interesting for some newer social categories, or target certain categories that had previously not afforded to resort to these sanatoriums.

In addition to the pricing policy, all these institutions resorted to marketing policies that were practicable at that time. Advertisements were published in newspapers. Press conferences were organized and the journalists who visited these hospitals informed the public about them.

The entrepreneurs presented in this study also took into account their appeal to their countrymen, relying on their origins and language, which was so important for

[88] Turda 2016, 69–82.

communication.[89] However, when patients chose these sanatoriums, they also considered other aspects, such as their financial possibilities or the reputation and competence of the doctors. Thus, for example, Mihály Babits and Endre Ady were the patients of Doctor Cosmuța.[90] I. G. Duca was at one time a patient of Doctor Mátyás Mátyás.[91] In November 1927, the medical council dealing with the case of Premier I. I. C. Brătianu, who suffered from laryngeal cancer, decided to summon doctor Árpád Gyergyai from Cluj to Bucharest. Árpád Gyergyai, who was an otolaryngologist and owned a sanatorium in this city, was to perform the operation that was required in this case. Unfortunately, I. I. C. Brătianu died before Gyergyai's arrival in Bucharest.[92]

Beyond all this, because sanatoriums were individual businesses, their success required a lot of dedication and hard work from the doctors who owned them and had to provide quality services. They built the reputation of their institutions through their own efforts and skills and through the dedication of those they surrounded themselves with. Perhaps more than advertising itself, successfully treated, satisfied patients could in turn recommend the doctor and the institution to other patients. Numerous successes could mean a greater number of patients and ensured the flourishing of the business.

Undoubtedly the destiny of these medical settlements was not identical. 'Charité' is said to have reached the brink of bankruptcy.[93] It is a certainty that it was sold in 1941. It is difficult to say what the fate of the Lengyel sanatorium would have been if the doctor who owned it had not been brutally deported and exterminated. In the other two cases, prosperity is confirmed by other investments in the field. As shown above, Doctor Mátyás Mátyás opened another sanatorium in Cojocna, and Doctor Cosmuța established two more medical settlements in Romania, becoming one of the richest doctors in Cluj.[94] On the other hand, although the nationalization of 1948 also affected the health sector, liquidating private initiatives in the field, we cannot overlook the fact that the medical institutions we have examined were recovered, in one form or another, over time and that they lie at the foundation of very prestigious medical institutions today.

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THE FLOW OF MEMORY DURING THE OBSESSIVE DECADE. THE CASE OF A. E. BACONSKY AT *STEAUA* MAGAZINE

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Abstract: The relationship between the literary and the political field is a debated topic in historiography, especially with the rise of new research methods. The question of how the writer constructs his artistic identity in a communist regime will be given an answer by studying the literary events and developments, which took place in Cluj-Napoca, in the editorial office of *Steaua* (The Star) magazine during the 1950s. *Steaua* quickly enjoyed success in the cultural landscape of the time, and the editorial policy promoted under its editor-in-chief A.E. Baconsky, managed through numerous concessions, but also through a game in the mirror, to stage a literature with moderate ideological influences. Based on different sources, the paper reconstructs the environment in which the writers were formed during the communist period, focusing on the attempts made by them to obey the line in order to ensure their financial and professional survival.

Keywords: ideology, literature, Steaua magazine, A.E. Baconsky, realism-socialist

Abstract: Relația dintre câmpul literar și cel politic reprezintă un subiect destul de dezbătut în istoriografie, mai ales odată cu apariția noilor metode de cercetare. Întrebarea cum își construiește scriitorul identitatea artistică în regimul comunist va încerca să își găsească răspunsul în cadrul unei structurări etapizante a manifestărilor de natură literară, care au avut loc la Cluj-Napoca, în redacția revistei Steaua de-a lungul anilor 50. Revista s-a bucurat de succes relativ repede în peisajul cultural al vremii, iar politica redacţională promovată sub conducerea redactorului şef A.E. Baconsky, a reuşit prin numeroase concesii, dar şi printr-un joc în oglindă, să pună în scenă o literatură cu influenţe ideologice moderate. Lucrarea de față dorește să sublinieze o reconstrucţie pe baza surselor, a mediului în care s-au format scriitorii în perioada comunistă, cu accentul pe încercările de a fi, de cele mai multe ori, pe aceeaşi linie cu partidul pentru a-şi asigura supravieţuirea din punct de vedere financiar și literar. Astfel, se va observa în ce măsură consecințele au fost directe asupra creației artistice, pornind de la analiza de discurs a scriitorilor până la modelarea sinelui acestora în vederea construirii acelei identități artistice care le permitea să scrie sub limita ideologiei comuniste.

Cuvinte cheie: ideologie, literatură, revista Steaua, A.E.Baconsky, realism-socialist

Under the communist regime, literature becomes a component of the political ideology, and its freedom of creation diminishes. The writer becomes an agent of social change, being entrusted with the creation of the 'new man.' Both Soviet and Romanian literature underwent a real crisis due to the aggressive policy of the regime, which suppressed its aesthetic autonomy. The regime paid special attention to writers in the process of forming a new method of creation,[1] known as *socialist realism*,[2] and the transformation of 'new socialist man.'

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[1] Socialist realism is a method of creation and not a literary current because it has a political character and does not have a literary value.

[2] Dobrenko, Lahusen 1997, 8.

The role of writers in the 1950s was to transform the literature into a means of propaganda. As early as 1948, the Romanian writer became a prisoner of a political system that limited his possibilities for artistic assertion and The Writers' Union had the mission of ensuring that writers respected ideological norms by offering them various financial privileges as its members.[3] Any deviation from this line marginalized the disobedient writers, and their works were banned by the regime or they did not pass censorship to be published. Their artistic writing was constrained by socialist realism that also limited their means of expressions. Therefore, the formation of a group of young writers who would lay the foundations of a successful literary magazine, which would later adopt different artistic approaches compared to other contemporary magazines in a struggle for aesthetic autonomy and deviation from socialist realism, would constitute a true avant-garde in Cluj-Napoca during the so-called *obsessive decade*. This poetic license refers to the period between 1947 and 1958. It was coined by the writer Marin Preda who used it in some studies of his volume called 'The Impossible Return.'[4] The obsessive decade is, in short, a period of the ones who disappeared, but not only the ones who died, but also those who were removed from party structures or those who hid under a different identity due to the regime's violence, and also those who managed to leave the country. Ana Selejan also describes the period of the 1950s as a time of the brutal dissolution of society, of the removal of well-known authors from the shelves of bookstores or libraries, but also of the forced disappearance of a way of life.[5] Also, during the 1950s, the relation of literature with politics went through numerous stages, their dynamism being closely related to the national and international positioning of the regime. Ion Simuț distinguishes between four types of literature produced by writers during Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's period.[6]

Opportunistic or *conformist literature* was created by writers who agreed with the communist regime and chose to present its image through poetry or prose. These were the writers who published during the communist period because this was for them their only way to do so. This is usually called *party literature* or *enslaved literature*[7] and included writers such as A. Toma, Mihai Beniuc and Dan Deşliu to Zaharia Stacu or Petru Dumitriu. The second one is *escapist literature* which, in Simuț's opinion, avoids any opinion or political themes, being inspired by current events. However, this type of literature was not possible until after Stalin's death. The escape of writers from politically enslaved literature were accepted only through descriptions of nature (pastel) and after 1956 through 'notation' poetry,[8] which *Steaua* used it countless times to break out the norms of a politically subordinated literature, and thus it was able to publish another literary genre.[9] All these became subjects of a poem that was published after 1956. The *subversive literature* is the one that allows a discreet exit from the officially recommended frameworks and is moderately directed against the mainstream. The author mentions that this type of literature improved

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[3] Macrea Toma 2009, 35–37.

[4] Preda 1971.

[5] Selejan 2013, 109.

[6] Simuț 2017, 43–53.

[7] Negrici 2003, 45.

[8] 'Notation' poetry (or jotted down poems) refers to a type of poetry that describes fragments of everyday life or makes objective observations of things.

[9] Steaua 1956, 1957, 1958.

its aesthetic strategies during Nicolae Ceaușescu's time because the national communist he promoted, at least in the first years, was not so dogmatic.[10] The fourth type of literature that Simuț proposes is that of *exile* or *dissident literature*, and in this case the writers were in direct opposition to the regime.

For the period of the 1950s, the escapist literature constitutes the most comprehensive aesthetic space for the artistic process. Therefore, the political dependence on other types of literature brings them a vulnerability to any kind of aesthetic criticism. The literature of the period was characterized by dogmatism, formalism, schematism, lack of style, careless or cumbersome expression, but especially it had to present the reality in a simpler way that could be understood by workers. This is usually known as *socialist realism*.[11] Historians have revolved around this concept in an attempt to fit it into a definition as complex as possible. It was defined at the First Congress of Writers of 1934 in the Soviet Union, referring to it as a combination of everyday reality and the most heroic perspectives (refers to the notion of perspective in its spatial and temporal variants).[12] Soviet literature, representative of socialist realism, presents a positive hero who has all the 'values' of communist society, and its evolution symbolizes the progress of that society and the ideals of the regime in building communism.[13] The conditions imposed by socialist realism valued the text accessibility for the reader to the elementary level so that literature and art could become means of forming a communist consciousness for its 'new man.' It was transplanted quite quickly in Romanian literature and even used 'successfully' by some Romanian writers, while for some these conditions led to the cessation of any kind of literary or artistic activity.

This was the context in which first criticism against *Steaua* came from the Writers Union's, under the auspices of which the magazine appeared. It underlined the fact that *Steaua* promoted a type of literature that exceeded level of understanding of the 'new man.'[14] Also, A. E. Baconscky was accused of being a modernist, a literary current banned by the communist regime.

George Munteanu, one of *Steaua*'s editors, defined socialist realism as the most unconventional method of creation,[15] and his colleague, Dumitru Micu defines it as a sum of several artistic processes, stating that it was never truly a method of creation.[16] Years later, when socialist realism was to be defined outside the pressure of the historical context, as it probably was for George Munteanu and his colleagues, the literary critic Alex Goldiș defines this concept as an instrument of literary criticism that without being a method of creation, it is a political theory difficult to apply to the literary phenomenon in its essence.[17] Regardless of the debate it has provoked over time, socialist realism has no complex content, in the sense that its theme is purely optimistic and praises the emergence of the 'new man' and communist ideals, ignoring aspects such as the old, evil or any sign of decline in a certain level of society.

[10] Simuț 2017, 48.
[11] Ute Gabaniy 2000, 70.
[12] Clark 1981, 11.
[13] Clark 1981, 25.
[14] Steaua 1958, 3–5.
[15] Munteanu 1958, 10.
[16] Micu 2001, 105.
[17] Goldiș 2011, 19–20.

Cultural isolation from Western Europe was an aspect of political involvement in the cultural field and it was deeper than political isolation, as culture was severely censored and thus, it became increasingly difficult for it to find a means of expression. Thus, the orientation of culture towards the Soviet Union was imposed as the only alternative for the Romanian cultural field. The communist regime in Romania needed to build for itself a political legitimacy for which cultural realm was indispensable. To this end, it aimed at building a new cultural model, cancelling everything that existed before it. Therefore, culture easily became an indispensable tool in the hands of the party, to use it in order to contrast the past with the present. In other words, 'a dark past compared to a *hopeful* present.'[18]

At Cluj-Napoca, the poets gathered around *Steaua*, including A. E. Baconsky, Victor Felea, Aurel Ghiughianu and Aurel Rău, made the effort to recover an ideologically free literary consciousness, wishing that there were no aesthetic barriers to it. They also recovered interwar writers and tried to promote young people. Their main concern was to support critical thinking among the collaborators of the magazine. *Steaua* was turned into a *place of memory*,[19] if we consider Pierre Nora's well-known formula. Consequently, the exercise of memory begins with the determination not to forget, not to give up, not to ignore, to want to know what happened in order to know better who we are, to see how a literary identity could be built within the limits of the ideological constraints. It is well-known the fact that Baconsky, as well as his colleagues started their artistic and editorial activity as sympathizers of the communist regime, and later they turned against it when it limited their poetic expression. The *Steaua* poets' initial adherence to socialist realism can also be attributed to the fact that they became part of the magazine's editorial staff soon after their graduation and they were motivated by the natural desire of professional assertion. Baconsky's literary work exemplified the conflict between the artist and the communist regime in Romania. An in-depth analysis of the text subtly reveals the transformation of A.E. Baconsky both as a writer and as a man when confronted with the political regime. If one examines the title of his works, such as *Empty Corpses*, *Beyond Winter*, or *The Flow of Memory*, it is easily noticed that he used metaphors to disguise his criticism of the communist regime so that he could kept his place in the system and enjoyed the benefits of the membership of the Writers Union.[20] The expression 'the flow of memory' vividly captures the story of poetry and literature published in *Steaua* magazine during the 1950s. This was the story of young writers who, eager to assert themselves, initially accepted the regime's canon. After a while, they discovered that poetry could not survive without emotions and thus, they tried to distance themselves from ideology using various artistic artifices, such as 'notation' or pastel poetry.[21] *The flow of memory* also represents the regeneration of poetry. It is also the name of a poem written by Baconsky and published in *Steaua* in 1957. It signaled the beginning of his artistic maturity. Since poetry of socialist realism presents a collective perspective on an event and thus ignored as much as possible the subjective component, *The flow of memory*[22] relied on the participatory emotion of the reader and at the same time

[18] Bud 2006, 143.
[19] Nora 1989, 7–24.
[20] Felea 2000, 28–29.
[21] Steaua 1956, 45.
[22] Baconsky 1957, 31.

it marked the return of love theme in the literary creation. This was a modern endeavor as the author relied on his inner self, on his own emotions, and wrote verses of self-reflection that created a welcomed artistic originality.

Crina Bud identified many elements of A. E. Bakonsky's artistic personality, and reconstructs the complex profile of the poet[23]. The author states that after 1956, the editor-in-chief of *Steaua* gradually renounced to complying with the official line,[24] and then, he began to assume his previous mistakes. The consequence was the revision of his entire poetry until 1967. Baconsky's artistic maturity occurred in 1956 at the First Congress of Writers in Romania, when he and his colleagues took a position against ideology and its limitations imposed on literary aesthetics, themes and free verse in poetry.[25] This attitude was conductive to his renunciation to the norms of socialist realism that limited the circulation of his poems. Under the communist regime, a writer did not depend solely on what he created, but also on the recognition from other people in the field, on the membership in a professional body, and on self-promotion on the book market.[26] This widens the debates about the role of authors as members of the Writers' Union. Gaining the membership was simply a formality for those authors who had already gained official recognition and had their works published. In comparison, becoming a member of the Writers' Union was an almost impossible test for other authors who had few publications, a controversial biography or professional trajectories considered inadequate to the literary (and political) profile of the institution.[27]

The Writers' Union was established on the Soviet model and represented the organizational framework of various types of artistic or literary events. According to Ioana Macrea Toma, the Union's role was to ensure the participation of writers in the struggle to build socialism.[28] The Union and its creative circles that were also built after the Soviet model aimed to create a literature and art for the communist regime that would praise the collective action of the masses and bring the cultural field under the control of the Party. Despite political control, the *cultural field*[29] managed sometimes to acquire a certain type of autonomy, but subsequent Party interventions aimed to destabilize it. Regarding the writers in the communist regime, the Romanian secret police, the Securitate took a great interest in them. Its mission was to provide the Party with information about the personal lives of the writers, and details about their attitude towards ideology and political beliefs that they freely expressed in various circles of friends. The Securitate was also interested in writers' foreign relations, in the writing of books and other details of their artistic activity that could prove to be dangerous for the regime.[30] Thus, for more special cases of disobedient writers such as A. E. Baconsky, the Securitate opened an informative surveillance file.[31]

[23] Bud 2006.

[24] Bud 2006, 15.

[25] Felea 2000, 109.

[26] Corobca 2014, 103.

[27] Vasile 2011, 30.

[28] Macrea Toma, 2009, 38.

[29] According to Bourdieu, cultural fields are autonomous spaces that seek recognition in the form of a particular form of symbolic capital that is given by the writer's reputation. See Bourdieu 2012.

[30] Corobca 2014, 213.

[31] Diaconescu 2012.

Ion Simuț makes an important distinction between the biography of writers and their work,[32] more precisely between the attitude of the writer as a citizen and the attitude that his literature conveyed. However, writing as a literary critic, he does not emphasize the importance of the connection between the biography and the creative process of the writer in communism. Instead, he emphasizes that literature should not be influenced by the position of the writer living as an ordinary man in a totalitarian system.[33] Also, the political involvement in the literary field resulted in the upward mobility of non-professional writers, and also in generous privileges given by the Party. The latter attracted the interest of consecrated writers who voluntarily subscribed to the norms of socialist realism and were easily brought into the collaboration with the regime.[34]

In Romania during the obsessive decade, ideological control was not enforced permanently, and this favored the moderate detachment from its constrains of some of the writers, as was the case of the poets of *Steaua*. An adequate periodization describing the situation is provided by Anneli Ute Gabanyi, who divides the period from a cultural point of view into three distinct parts.[35] Thus, the phase between 1948 and 1952 is considered one of laying the foundations of the new cultural policy. Thus, starting with 1948, the literary production receives an ideological load, and the writers become deprived of the freedom of expression and the lyrical poetry disappears almost completely. This ideological alignment of literature is closely related to the sovietization of the state,[36] and the process reached its apex during Andrei Zhdanov's leadership (1946–1952).[37] 1953–1957 represents a period of timid ideological relaxation that occurred after Stalin's death on 5 March 1953. Despite it, the pressure of ideological control continued and the literature experienced a crisis. Thus, the period between 1958 and 1959 was a difficult one for literature: it became increasingly difficult for many of the publications to pass censorship.

Gabany's periodization is relevant for understanding how poets of *Steaua* had to comply with the requirements imposed on them by the political context. At the same time, the periodization shows how the poets could sidestep moderately the official line of the communist regime during its brief moments of relaxation. This was also possible due to the fact that *Steaua* magazine was published in Cluj-Napoca and the geographical distance weakened the Party supervision. Consequently, the publications printed outside Bucharest enjoyed a limited autonomy that allowed them to sidestep the obstacles imposed by the official ideology.

Baconsky's *Steaua*

'Even if they are dead, the birds in the glass case must remember people that they had flown sometimes.'[38] This was the phrase with which Marius Tupan concluded his surrealist novel, *Vitrina cu păsări împăiate* ('A Glass Case with Stuffed Birds'),[39] banned in Romania

[32] Simuț 2017, 43.
[33] Simuț 2017, 43–44.
[34] Ute Gabaniy 2001, 25.
[35] Ute Gabaniy 2001, 25.
[36] Bosomitu, Burcea 2012
[37] Ute Gabanyi 2001, 16.
[38] All the quotations in this paper were translated from Romanian to English by Carmen Borbély.
[39] Tupan 1994.

before 1989. The main characters are the Writer and the Teacher, who try to live their daily life within the limits imposed on them by the Administration, in a city called the Golden Fortress. The Writer and the Professor are suspected of deviating from the rules imposed by Administration. Thus, they are sent to serve their sentence in a house in front of which there was a huge glass case. In this glass case there were fifty species of stuffed birds, including an eagle and a white dove.[40] After their arrival, the two were requested to write a book based on documents about the Golden Fortress to escape punishment and return to their daily lives. But later, the two characters discover that the only way that can restore their freedom is in fact the authentic creation and not the one imposed by the Administration.

Steaua magazine in Cluj can be associated with that glass case, and its editorial staff consisting of A.E. Baconsky, Aurel Rău, Victor Felea, and Aurel Gurghianu represent the stuffed birds. That is because after death, those birds transform and receive another life in the same manner in which the editors' ideas and lyrics were often heavily censored and thus, they were forced to embrace the socialist realism in order to survive the communist regime. 'A glass case with stuffed birds' can also be a metaphor for their work. That is because their careers stood under the sign of 'notation' poetry, they did not write what they would have liked, and the issues of the magazine never looked the way they wanted to look, always having to be adjusted to pass censorship.

Steaua surprises the contemporary readers with its modernist breath, timid at first, with its exact style, but at the same time full of expressive force and poetic originality after 1956 when Baconsky decided to distance himself from socialist realism. The magazine was first published in 1949 under the name *Almanah literar* ['Literary Almanac'] in a city known for its intellectual tradition. The publication was linked to the name of Radu Miron Paraschivescu, and the first issue appeared in December 1949. The magazine, in a form of a book numbering 143 pages, distinguished through its excellent graphic design. The editorial board remained unknown to the readers as the opening article discussing the political changes influencing the literary field, was signed generically with 'Editorial.'[41]

At first, the magazine kept its name *Almanah*. In addition to its book format, it also contained a rich literary and artistic material that included the column 'Artistic Life,' as well as various informative notes of an encyclopedic nature. However, despite the efforts of the editorial staff, it did not have the expected impact, although a literary magazine was badly needed in Cluj. Dumitru Micu notes that initially Lucian Blaga, although he was close to Baconsky, remained cautious about the magazine, and Emil Isac always criticized them for mistyping or spelling that crept in, and due to the fact that the authors were very young.[42] Also, the publication did not have a strong echo within the academic community of the University of Cluj. Dumitru Micu also reveals in his memoirs that only Professor Ion Breazu had words of praise when the magazine appeared. Others were in turn skeptical, indifferent or critical. That was because they considered that the magazine did not meet the required criteria. Moreover, as it did not contain specialized studies, many professors refused

[40] Tupan 1994, 209–214.

[41] Foreword to Almanahul Literar al Uniunii Scriitorilor 1949, 1.

[42] Micu 2001, 118.

to collaborate with it.[43] It was only after 1955, when A. E. Baconsky began to stimulate the critical thinking of his colleagues and militate against the political subordination of literature, while rejecting the idea that poetry had to match the levels of understanding of all people, that these ideas were embraced by several university professors in Cluj.[44]

In 1954, the magazine received the name *Steaua* (The Star) after the homonym of the Soviet magazine *Szvezda*, and up until 1956 it was suffocated by party propaganda and communist slogans. In comparison to other magazines like *Tribuna*, Baconsky as editor-in-chief of *Steaua* refused to put the slogan 'For socialism and peace, we are fighting!'[45] on the front page of the magazine. As a result, in 1956, the Writers' Union took a stand against the situation in Cluj. Mihai Novicov, who was the Union's secretary, visited the editorial office of *Steaua* and asked Baconsky and Paraschivescu to perform self-criticism and abandoned the distancing from the rules imposed by the party.[46] When the two 'delayed' their self-criticism, Paraschivescu was forced to retire from *Steaua* and left Cluj.[47]

'Only simple enumeration of themes can't create a new literature,'[48] stated George Munteanu only a year after the *Almanah Literar* became *Steaua* in a moment in which the magazine craved its own path among the publications strongly marked by the ideology of the time. After the departure of Paraschivescu and the editorial work was taken by A. E. Baconsky, Victor Felea, Aurel Gurghianu, George Munteanu and Aurel Rău, the composition of the numbers became instructive, carefully organized. It also used subterfuges to save the texts of the young writers and reintegrate the politically marginalized writers as it was the case of Lucian Blaga to whom Baconsky offered a column for translations from French literature. From 1954 to 1957, the magazine almost always opened with greetings for Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej or with a text about the last meetings of the Writers' Union, or with well-known slogans such as 'Long live the writer's friend, the leader of the struggle for the happiness of the Romanian people!'[49] Also, the poems of the current president of the Writers' Union, Mihai Beniuc, were published in a special section, the one dealing the original literature. The editors learned that politically inspired principles usually hid the need to overcome the limitation imposed on the artistic condition. Thus, they exploited the section, *The Life of Books*, which they occasionally dedicated it to the Soviet literature. In this way they managed to trick the censorship and have published translations from Vladimir Mayakovsky's works.[50] In other instances they carefully slipped in a critical review or a reading recommendation for interwar publications[51].

The group of poets of *Steaua* led by A. E. Baconsky did not necessarily revolutionize the writing of poetry. Rather they impacted greatly on the development of the Romanian poetry and on training of young writers. Also, through its activity, the magazine renewed

[43] Micu 200, 119.
[44] Roth 2014.
[45] Paraschivescu 1994.
[46] Micu 2001, 120.
[47] Felea 2000, 143.
[48] Munteanu 1955, 25.
[49] Steaua 1956, 1.
[50] One of the most representative poets in the Soviet Union.
[51] Steaua 1957, 98.

connections with interwar poetry by publishing the works of Bacovia or Mateiu Caragiale.[52] Baconsky was the one who asked Lucian Blaga to collaborate with them, even if his decision was not approved by the Writers' Union. Also, eager to keep up with the Western literature, *Steaua* published regularly pierces about its well-known writers and the translation of names whose pronunciation generated a wave of controversy at the 1956 Writers' Congress.[53]

In Anneli Uite Gabanyi's taxonomy the year of 1956 was part of a period of ideological relaxation that began in 1953, after Stalin's death and that led to changes in the political structures of the Soviet Union.[54] Also, the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956 was the apex of this period of 'ideological calm' or relaxation. The case of the writer Alexandru Jar is illustrative for the spirit of that time. Framed by the communist authorities, he was manipulated to protest against the Party and as a result he was expelled from all professional and political institutions.[55] The case was meant to be an example for disciplining writers who started to disobey the ideological line and prevented them from expressing oppositional views at the Writers' Congress. In addition to these developments the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 put an end to the cultural relaxation.

During the Writers' Congress one could notice a moderate tendency towards the liberalization of literature that emphasized certain aspects. The writer Eugen Jebeleanu, for example, spoke in favor of granting more freedom for literary activities in the cities outside Capital.[56] Hungarian writers, through the voice of Istvan Nagy, a contributor to *Steaua* magazine, requested a department for minorities within the Writers' Union. Also, A. E. Baconsky and his colleagues were criticized for their position at the meeting, their common and well-defined artistic conception and for the unified organization around the magazine.[57] They were also criticized for including Lucian Blaga among the ranks of the collaborators. Previously marginalized by the regime, Blaga began his activity at *Steaua* with translations from foreign literature.

The First Writers' Congress also brought changes in the leadership of the Writers' Union. Thus, the writers who allegedly committed numerous ideological deviations were removed from it[58] to discourage any tendency toward artistic liberalization. Thus, Mihail Sadoveanu was appointed President of the Union, but the real power rested with the first secretary, Mihai Beniuc whom the party trusted to act as guardian of the official line in the literary realm. During the Congress, some literary pieces of socialist realism including those of Mihail Sadoveanu, Mihai Beniuc or Petru Dumitriu's novel *The Bird of the Storm*[59] were discussed, in addition to issues pertaining to the future development of the Romanian literature.

Steaua's issue of June 1956 worth mentioning for its opening article, in which the editors engaged in their first self-criticism and highlighted the mistakes they had made

[52] Steaua 1957, 114.
[53] Mocanu 2011, 46.
[54] Ute Gabaniy 2001, 55.
[55] Ute Gabaniy 2001, 58–59.
[56] Proceedings of the First Congress of Writers 1956, 220.
[57] Proceedings of the First Congress of Writers 1956, 220.
[58] Proceedings of the First Congress of Writers 1956, 221.
[59] Steaua 1956, 4.

from the Party's point of view. This was related to the deviation from the ideological line that resulted in the publication of poetry that did not observe the requirements of the socialist realism.[60] Also, the editorial office pledged to correct the so-called deviations and underlined the contribution of *Steaua*, along with other literary magazines, to the development of a new literature.[61]

At the Congress Baconsky criticized directly the dogmatic principles of socialist realism and its ideological limitations. Moreover, a year later, in 1957, the poet distanced himself from his previous works, and published the poem 'The Flow of Memory' and the volume of poems *Beyond Winter*.[62] Thus, A. E. Baconsky renounced to militant poems as his lyricism was getting closer and closer to Modernism and he extensively made use of the theme of love in his works This brought him more criticism than ever.[63] Landscapes and in doors topics remained predominant in his poems. Nature represented for A. E. Baconsky the ideal angle from which he could describe the most accurate representation of human condition as the communist regime did not favor the unmediated individual expression.

The poem 'The Last Role' published in 1957 in *Steaua*, and 'Flows of Memory' marked Baconsky's separation from socialist realism.[64] For him, this ensured his entry into the world of great authors by disobeying the official rules. Despite it, he did not state clearly if he truly believed in ideology but he expressed his regrets about the opportunities he had lost at the beginning of his career as he was forced to self-censure his works. However, the publication of his poems in *Steaua* in 1957 marked the regeneration of poetry, but it also brought Baconsky closer and closer to the end of his activity at the magazine. The Writers' Union constantly asked him to engage in self-criticism and he constantly refused to do so. It became obvious that the party would not allow the existence of a group of young nonconformist writers in Cluj that were prone to deviations from the norms of communist ideology. A. E. Baconsky was an intellectual with a strong and controversial personality who left his unmistakable mark both on spirit of the period and on Romanian poetry and literature. He was constantly criticized by the regime, being accused that his literary perspective was influenced by Modernism,[65] or of his supposedly negative influence over his colleagues. The Securitate put him under surveillance as testified by the six–Volume informative surveillance file to be found in the archive of Consliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (The National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives) in Bucharest. The file included numerous pages with rudimentary analysis made on his texts by the unknown parties.[66]

A. E. Baconsky's colleagues at *Steaua* described him as a nonconformist figure who was never out of ideas and liked to be in the center of attention almost all the time.[67] His state of spirit oscillated between happiness, indignation and most of the time, revolt. Victor Felea notes in his diary that Baconsky's presence was constantly discursive and he was

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[60] Steaua 1956, 4.

[61] Steaua 1956, 5.

[62] Steaua 1957.

[63] His informative surveillance file prepared by the Securitate, is suggestively called 'Modernist.'

[64] Steaua 1957, 100.

[65] ACNSAS, Fond Informative, file 211763, vol. 1, 4.

[66] ACNSAS, Fond Informative, file 211763, vol. 1, ff. 64–108.

[67] Micu 2001, 113.

always updated on the latest developments in the literary field, especially the Western one and he constantly criticized others, and perceived himself as being in competition with writers in Bucharest.[68] Both Dumitru Micu and Victor Felea point out that many times that Baconsky did not write for the sake of writing, but he published lyrics or studies in a magazine to upset someone, especially those from the Writers' Union.[69] He had a critical mind and paid attention to things around him.

Before his leaving from *Steaua*, he made sure that the magazine remained connected to the flux of Western literature. Bakonsky was dismissed from *Steaua* in 1958, when the Writers' Union lured him to Bucharest with a promise for a job at *Contemporanul* magazine. This only increased his surveillance by the Securitate and it did not bring him the desired professional promotion. Also, this 'transfer' could also be triggered by his stand taken at the First Congress of Writers in 1956, as noted in a transcript taken by Radu Marian Mocanu: 'There is no party member in the editorial office of *Steaua*, and the editor-in-chief, A. E. Baconsky has created **a gang of snobs** and beautician poets and runs the magazine as he pleases. Therefore, the requirements for the magazine would be the following, for the Writers' Union to assign the young writer Ștefan Luca, a party member, to *Steaua*, and A.E. Baconsky to be moved to Bucharest at *Contemporanul*.'[70] In Bucharest, Bakonsky continued his deviation from socialist realism and thus until 1970 his poems could not pass censorship, and he was not allowed to give lectures at the University.[71] He fell in disgrace after he had published the surrealist novel 'The Black Church' in a German magazine in 1975. The novel was a parable about the communist Romania. Rejected by the Romanian censorship, it was read at Radio Free Europe.[72]

Victor Felea notes in his diary how the stay in Bucharest changed A. E. Baconsky. Paying him a visit, Felea found him increasingly sad and dissatisfied with the prospective of contemporary literature: 'A visit to Anatol. His face increasingly takes on the strange appearance of the character he embodies, a theatre-goer of our contemporary masquerade, overly saddened by what he is given to see. Its presence is already in itself a defiance of the atmosphere of general pettiness that ideology cultivates.'[73]

Conclusions

Beyond fascination or irritation that A.E. Baconsky's personality triggered with equal intensity, his literary career followed all phases of the Romanian contemporary literature: from proletarian poetry, the rediscovery of lyricism and aesthetics, the recovery of interwar poetry and the establishment of Neo-Modernism specific to the generation of the 1960s. The value of his artistic work and especially his contribution at *Steaua* cannot be ignored. Despite all the things that are said and will continue to be said about him, Baconsky along with his colleagues brought a valuable contribution to the regeneration of lyricism in a period of time in which nobody knew what it was its usefulness. He was to appropriate the

[68] Felea 2000, 56.

[69] Felea 2000, 56.

[70] Mocanu 2011, 55.

[71] Mocanu 2011, 161.

[72] Baconsky 2011.The book was first published in 1990 and was called dystopia, presenting the harshest aspects of the communist regime in Romania.

[73] Victor Felea 2000, 165.

term 'modern' in a society that imposed and try to build completely new traditions to form a 'new man,' without personal values or opinions.

At a time like the 1950's, when poetry in magazines in Cluj had a modest artistic quality as many of them could not pass censorship, Baconsky realized that poetry could not survive without its emotional support. Not all *Steaua* issues managed to escape censorship, and this led to delays in the publication of the magazine, therefore causing delays in salaries, at a time when none of them were doing too well financially.[74] The only source of income was from the magazine, because the Writers' Union withdrew their benefits due to deviation from ideological norms. Among the many criticisms the editors of *Steaua* received during the period were those of deviation from the norms of socialist realism, and this meant the writing of poems without rhyme as the communists considered that free verse as being difficult to be comprehended by the vast majority of the population. Also, the party criticized the magazine's connection with the flow of Western literature, its promotion of interwar literature and the formation of a group of young artists with similar ideas that ran counter to the official line.[75]

The group of *Steaua* tried to remain united despite all the accusations coming from outside. In the end, they understood that in addition to their personal dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the literary realm, they were united by the aesthetic and literary attitude in which the critical spirit played a decisive role, and supported by Bakonsky, they refused to engage in self-criticism.[76] A. E. Baconsky repeatedly refused to publicly criticize himself as the Party wanted. His strong personality prompted everyone around the magazine to believe that it was in their power to promote, even in a discreet way, the rebirth of poetry. What *Steaua* gained through its editor-in-chief, was the modernization of its artistic expression, and for this reason he later was considered dangerous by the regime and thus, he was moved to Bucharest to be put under the close supervision of the Party (and the Securitate). Even so, he continued to support the *Steaua* magazine, and he visited its headquarters every time he came to Cluj. He encouraged his friends to continue the fight for the recuperation of real poetry.[77] His behavior was a telling proof of his special connection with the magazine he once had led, and to which he introduced the first column of critical opinions, precisely to encourage the critical thinking of those who contributed to it, and always found ways to integrate a historical context that was not favorable to him, to his colleagues or to *Steaua*.

Even if the temptation to read Baconsky and *Steaua* will always be a literary one, one must not lose sight of the historical perspective, in an attempt to decipher a fragment of the past of a period in which A. E. Baconsky described it as the fullness and emptiness of a constantly changing world.[78]

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[74] Felea 2000, 205.

[75] ACNSAS, Fund Informative, File 211763, vol. 1, f. 43.

[76] Victor Felea mentions in his diary that they always wanted to succeed in obtaining aesthetic freedom and a more diverse theme for their lyrics. See Felea 2000, 152.

[77] Victor Felea wrote in his diary that A. E. Baconsky often sent out plans with suggestions for the magazine when the editorial staff had difficulty publishing the issues. See Felea 2000, 245.

[78] Baconsky 2011.

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THE NEW SOCIAL MOBILITY: HOW COMMUNIST POLICIES CHANGED THE LANDSCAPE OF ROMANIAN SOCIETY IN THE 50s AND 60s*

VLAD ONACIU**

Abstract: The economic policies of the communist regime in Romania had a powerful impact on society, transforming it in many regards: behaviorally, professionally, demographically, etc. In this study we propose an analysis of how the 'new worker' was constructed, migration to cities and the relationship with the old workforce. For the purposes of our research, we focused on the case-study of Cluj, taking advantage of its ethnic diversity which offers an extra layer for the analysis, but also because the city had an industrial sector before the communist period. Firstly, we aimed at explaining the demographic process through which a large number of people from the countryside moved to cities in search for an industrial job. This phenomenon can be linked to the effects of collectivization, which changed the social mobility model, as it dissolved the right to own land. Secondly, we aim to understand the ample process of integrating new workers in production and their tense relationship with the old proletariat. This must be understood within the context of urbanization, of migrants and the 'ruralization of cities.' The last element brought into discussion will be regarding the role played by old specialists in communist industrialization. Here we will focus on the interesting case of Dezideriu Jenei, chief-engineer at Tehnofrig, one of the few examples we can retrace from the archives.

Keywords: migration, workers, industrialization, urbanization, specialists

Abstract: Politicile economice ale regimului comunist din România au avut un impact foarte puternic asupra societății, pe care au transformat-o pe mai multe paliere: comportamental, profesional, demografic, etc. În studiul de față propunem o analiză asupra unor aspecte ale construirii 'noului muncitor,' migrația spre orașe și relația acestuia cu vechea muncitorime. Pentru realizarea studiului vom folosi Clujul ca pe un studiu de caz, profitând de diversitatea sa etnică, ceea ce conferă un substrat suplimentar analizei, dar și pentru industria care exista dinaintea regimului comunist. În primul rând, vom explica procesul demografic prin care un număr mare de locuitori din mediul rural au migrat spre orașe în căutarea unui loc de muncă în fabrică. Fenomenul poate fi legat și de efecte colectivizării, care a schimbat modelul mobilității sociale, prin dizolvarea dreptului proprietății asupra pământului. În al doilea rând, vom încerca să înțelegem amplul proces de integrare a noilor muncitori în producție, dar și interacțiunea lor tensionată cu vechiul proletariat. Acesta trebuie înțeles în contextul fenomenului de urbanizare a migranților și ruralizării orașelor. Ultimul element analizat va fi legat de rolul vechilor specialiști în industrializarea comunistă. Aici ne vom concentra asupra cazului lui Dezideriu Jenei, inginerul-șef al Tehnofrigului, unul dintre puținele care poate fi urmărit în arhive.

Cuvinte cheie: migrație, muncitori, industrializare, urbanizare, specialiști

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Introduction

The communist regime in Romania aimed at transforming the national economy by increasing the role of industry, expanding old factories and constructing new ones. This, in turn, was closely linked with urbanization, as the need to accommodate the new workforce coming from the countryside grew. Dealing with both processes simultaneously proved to be quite a challenge for regional and local authorities who also had to work towards the goals of the planned economy.

The complexity and broad scope of this research makes it essential that we focus on a case-study, the city of Cluj and its hinterland. This will allow us to look at social transformations within historical context and changing urban spaces and landscapes. Such research is usually complex, due to its broad scope. It involves looking at social transformations within a historical context and the changing landscapes of urban spaces.

The essence of socialist transformation lay in the policies of massive industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. The first one generated an increasing need for skilled and unskilled workers. Yet, there were obvious demographic limits to fulfilling them through the existing urban population. This is where the issue of social mobility comes into discussion, an essential concept in the understanding how the communist regime transformed Romanian society.

We face a conceptual challenge when trying to explain how social mobility functioned under the pressures of communist policies. Usually, this process would be described as an upward movement, an improvement of status and living standards. It is also measured at an intergenerational level, children moving higher than their parents. This is a vertical transformation within a society's hierarchy. Social mobility is associated with changes brought on by education.[1] Communist policies up-turned this classical form as they aimed at a complete restructuring of society, a re-drawing of hierarchies of all manners.[2]

In the process of consolidating their position the communists aimed at destroying the power-base of political adversaries. This brought a need to reform the economy by their own design. In 1945 a vast land reform saw the end of the remaining large landowners, a process long underway since the beginning of the twentieth century.[3] This spread the land among poor peasants, who made for an easy target during collectivization. Next, the regime took steps to take control of the rest of the economy through a 1947 monetary reform which left the majority of the middle-class without capital and savings.[4] Nationalization came relatively easy after this and gave the communists total control over the economy.

One of the main drivers of the regime's policies was modernization through an emphasis on industrial development. This, couple with collectivization and the breaking of ownership ties to the land made social mobility under communism somewhat different than in the West. Peasants found that in this new world their best chance at improving their lives was to seek employment in a factory. Thus, social mobility took on a horizontal direction as well, in terms of geographical movement, from villages to towns and cities.

[1] Aldridge 2003, 189.
[2] Domanski 1999, 464.
[3] Hitchins 2013, 606–607.
[4] Deletant 2019, 155.

Migration was favored by the communist emphasis on massive industrialization, which required an ever-increasing number of workers. While bringing people from the countryside was a quick fix, there still remained the issue of training and housing. This slowed down the overall process, as new neighborhoods were being constructed and people educated. As we have already mentioned, this last aspect is essential in understanding social mobility. Sociological studies from the period reveal that the regime faced difficulties in convincing new unskilled workers to learn, study, and improve on their abilities and social standing. As they noted, this was due to the fact that many of them were commuters and the daily travel left them little time for this. Their main concerns were income and the situation of their families.[5] However, as we will see later on, some laborers tried studying and this generated a whole new issue, old vs. new workers.

An important role in industrialization and urbanization was played by the economic background of the city and the size of newly constructed factories. For example, there are differences between the evolution of Cluj and that of Brașov, which had more factories. The proximity of villages and the state of infrastructure played a key role as it influenced patterns of commuting.[6] The case of Cluj was interesting, as the city was not one of the large industrial hubs, even during the communist period. However, it was one of the urban centers with rapid and massive demographic growth and had a fair number of important factories.

Social mobility during communism was an ample process involving an impressive number of people. The regime faced the task of integrating new workers in production processes and in urban settings. Many of the new apartment buildings came with issues of quality and timeliness. This generated dissatisfaction and delayed entering active employment. Also, it meant that many workers were forced to become commuters, which strained infrastructure and took-up a lot of the workers' time, lowering their productivity. In fact, this issue was brought up in sociological research done in the 1970s and had plagued communist society from the onset of massive industrialization.[7]

Those who did manage to move to towns or cities faced the challenge of learning a new way of life, different from the one in the countryside. This led to something which came to be known as the 'ruralization of cities,' as people started toiling gardens on small plots of land behind or around their apartment buildings.

The collectivization of agriculture was a long and divisive process, people were not pleased at all by the perspective of losing their private property, especially those who had only recently gained it through the 1945 land reform.[8] While it promised mechanization, agriculture remained very much reliant on manual labor and losing workers became a pressing issue for officials managing collective farms.[9] Of course, this generated conflicts and pushed individuals to try and cheat the system in order to leave the collective farms.

The matter of seeking employment in a factory seems to have been a complex social phenomenon. On the one hand, it offered an opportunity for better incomes and access

[5] Dezbatere 1973, 735; Doman 1979, 498.
[6] Beuran 1973, 659.
[7] Chelcea 1973, 391–397; Doman 1979, 495–496.
[8] Șandru 2011; Tismăneanu 2006, 38, 49–50.
[9] Murgescu 2010, 363.

to some of the benefits of urban life, a financial motivation. On the other hand, it posed a challenge as moving to a town or city was not an easy task and commuting was often difficult. However, as we have already suggested the loss of land ownership left few options for social mobility in the countryside. Thus, people could increase their income through industrial jobs instead of buying land and working harder. There was another component here, as mentioned by the era's sociological studies, commuters became a hub for bringing goods that could only be found in urban shops, improving on the lifestyle specific for villages.[10]

In a more usual context, social mobility would allow for the gradual change in status, position, and economical means of individuals. The best way to look at it is in terms of generational changes; children would fare better than their parents and so forth. This represents a vertical move on the social scale, always an upward one. The policies imposed by the communist regime with the aim of achieving rapid modernization changed this. Industrialization and urbanization were intensive, but the latter always lagged. This left a lot of people as commuters from the countryside to factories in towns and cities, adding a new, horizontal direction for social mobility.

For the purposes of this research, we have studied several types of historical sources. Firstly, the local service of the National Archives houses a collection of documents created by authorities and by the management of several factories in Cluj. These hold information on the difficulties of urban expansion under the pressures of a planned economy, as well as the challenges of teaching people how to live in cities. At another level of reading, we can see the way in which the institutional framework functioned, the relationship between local or regional authorities and central ones. This serves as an illustration of the differences between the goals set in the plan the impediments faced by lower-level bureaucrats.

Documents from factories aid in retracing patterns of migration from the countryside to cities or towns. Hiring requests or employment registers can help researchers follow patterns of migration and make micro-evaluations of the origins of new workers. This method can prove efficient if it is corroborated by interviews with former workers from the communist period. One limitation to this approach may be given by the state of the archives, which mostly house documents from the 1950s and the 1960s and are very poor when it comes to the last two decades of the regime.

There are, of course, official statistics, and the big picture which they paint. We can see a growth both in terms of industrial capacity and also in urban spread. However, as it has often been pointed-out on many occasions, communist statistics are neither very precise, nor honest. The system was flawed as it had an inefficient mechanism of collecting feedback. Reporting real numbers was not encouraged as not achieving plan goals could have a negative impact on positions of privilege. Also, there were no alternative statistics, so even less incentive to report realistic numbers. Thus, we recommend a cautious approach to evading these, more as an image at a macro-level for broader phenomena, how the demographics of regions evolved, as well as how the economic landscape changed and diversified.

The literature of the subject poses another challenge, navigating between post-communist historiography and the sociological studies conducted by the regime. The

[10] Dezbatere 1977, 736.

Viitorul Social journal underlined some of the issues regarding workers, the challenges they faced and the transformations their lives underwent: commuting, permanent migration, education, social activity or passivity, etc. It seems to illustrate that the regime was aware of the shortcoming of massive industrialization and rapid urbanization. However, there are limits posed by ideology, which clearly influenced research approaches and conclusions. Instead of offering clear-cut solutions, they place hope in the future of constructing socialism which would or should solve these problems in the future.

Research done after the fall of the communist regime initially came from the direction of anthropologists. Katherine Verdery's contribution is still highly relevant and represents an exploration of how people reacted towards the rules imposed by the regime, especially in terms of their passive resistance strategies.[11] The gradual opening of the archives led to more comprehensive research with more insight into how the regime's bureaucracy worked. Verdery together with Gail Kligman, looked at the impact of collectivization of agriculture and how peasants were forced to adjust to losing ownership of their land and the way in which this influenced social mobility.[12]

Călin Morar–Vulcu approached the issue of how the regime constructed the image of its new model of citizens. However, he focuses only on issues or aspects of discursive representation and gave no real attention to society and the economy.[13] Even so, his research is useful at understanding the relationship between people and the authorities. To this we add the work done by Tamás Lőnhárt and Virgiliu Țârău on the transformation of work ethics under communism and the tensions between old and new workers, with an emphasis on the case of Cluj.[14] An important contribution to historiography was brought by Mara Marginean's book, a rare monograph on the impact of communist policies of industrialization in Hunedoara and Călan. Her approach was based in social history, illustrating how the region, already heavily industrialized, further changed its characteristics. It is a unique attempt at explaining the changes through which these towns underwent as part of communist urbanization.[15] Research done on the examples of the Soviet Union, East Germany or even Hungary has been somewhat more extensive. We can borrow in terms of methodology, but given the inherent differences between Romania and these countries a straight comparison will not suffice.[16]

Migration patterns – the rural-urban axis

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Transylvania, while more urbanized than the rest of Romania, was still mostly rural, its towns and cities were small. Cluj was one of the region's big urban centers and continues to be up to the present day. Around 1930, the Cluj region, as defined at that time by the communist territorial administrative organization, had a population of 990,423, with only 185,912 living in towns (future county – 475,533).[17] The evolution in the following decades would

[11] Verdery 1996.

[12] Kligman, Verdery 2011.

[13] Morar–Vulcu, 2007, 254.

[14] Lőnhárt, Țârău 2014.

[15] Marginean 2015.

[16] Pittaway 2012; Madarasz 2006; Kenney 1997.

[17] *Anuarul Statistic al României 1990*, 52.

gradually change its landscape, and the communist period radically altered it, shaping it into a mix between the previous era and socialist imagination.

Cluj then was still mostly a city of the administration, with many of its inhabitants being functionaries employed by the Hungarian government. There was a small industrial sector with many of those factories further expanding after the Second World War, as was the case of '16 Februarie' and 'Iris.' One other interesting aspect was tied to the ethnic structure of the population of Transylvania, with most Romanians living in the countryside. Some migration took place after the First World War, as some Romanians moved in to occupy positions freed-up by Hungarians who left. Following transformations, including the partition of Transylvania during World War I and the previous inter-war Romanianization process and also the migration of Hungarians in the first post-war years balanced the ethnic structure of Cluj. The 1956 Census shows Cluj with 165,723 inhabitants, with 74,155 being Hungarians and 74,033 Romanians. Of these, 74,447 were industrial workers, 42,720 Hungarians and another third, 29,415, Romanians. Of 57,988 functionaries, 33,659 were Romanians and 21,047 Hungarians, illustrating the transformations Cluj was undergoing at the beginning of the industrialization process.[18]

In the period after World War II the demographic tendency in Cluj remained one of upward growth. In 1948, in the Cluj Region there were 1,060,699 inhabitants of which only 213,658 lived in urban settlements.[19] Going back to the 1956 Census we can observe the evolution during the first decade of the communist regime. There were 1,259,073 people in the Cluj Region, with 323,732 of them living in cities or towns, 154,723 in the city of Cluj itself. Of these 1,2 million individuals only 258,396 were classified as workers, but only about half of them were inhabitants of urban space, the rest were commuters. Also, only 54,041 were employed in the industrial sector, and another 11,929 were part of factory administrations.[20] Further analysis of official statistics we see that in 1974, in the Cluj county there were 689,000 inhabitants and more than half could be found in cities and towns (368,391).

This pattern of urban growth was part of a nationwide transformation brought about by communist social and economic policies. The regime attempted a balanced approach, directing investments in an effort to create industrial development in new regions.[21] This makes the phenomena ever, it should be mentioned that Cluj was still above the overall level with a rate of 53,5% urban growth compared to the national one which was at 42,7%. The population of the city had doubled since its 1948 level, reaching 218,703 inhabitants.[22] This pattern remained very much the same during the entire communist period, by 1989 the city had a population of 317,914.[23]

Cluj's industrial sector began developing in the second half of the eighteenth century with small manufacturing operations, and by the nineteenth century some had developed into small factories. Some became tied to the history of the city, although industry was

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[18] *Recensământul Populației din 21 februarie 1956.*

[19] *Anuarul Statistic al României 1961*, 68–69; *Anuarul Statistic al României 1990*, 52.

[20] *Recensământul Populației din 21 februarie 1956.*

[21] Chirot 1978, 475.

[22] *Anuarul Statistic al Republicii Socialiste România 1975*, 10.

[23] *Anuarul Statistic al României 1990*, 52.

never the only defining economic sector.[24] 'Clujana' is one of the best-known examples, founded as 'Janos Herbak,' it produced leather shoes and in time became a national brand. Surviving the treacherous times of the Great Depression it was later nationalized by the communist regime. This period would actually be a very good one for factory, due to the focus on industrialization and later on the export of consumer goods to pay-off national debts. Its gradual expansion, of course, attracted a large number of new workers. Another example is that of the 'Iris' porcelain factory, which after the Second World War was also nationalized. Following a similar pattern, it brought a growth in production, an increased number of workers, and massive export of goods to other countries, both in the West and other communist states.[25] During these times the beer factory (URSUS) grew, becoming a well-known brand up to this day, even if production has been moved to a different part of the country.[26] There was also the '16 Februarie' plant for the repair of train locomotives and carts, inherited from the Hungarian government, which created it when the Cluj-Oradea line was constructed. In time, it grew, reflecting the development of the infrastructure and the importance of industry in the communist period. It would later be renamed as 'Remarul' and still functions to this day, working with foreign companies for profit.[27]

Communist policies of massive industrialization led to the construction of new factories, mostly in a support role, such as 'Tehnofrig'[28] and 'Carbochim.' This was a new experience for the regime which required a mix between the knowledge of old workers and new production processes involving freshly trained personnel. They represented a new experience for the regime as it meant combining old workers' abilities with new production processes and newly trained personnel.

The industrial part of Cluj continued to develop on the outskirts, as before, in the proximity of the train tracks, which aided in transportation. The new neighbourhoods were additions to the old city, surrounding it, but with few if any connecting infrastructure between them. This meant that the old center became a space of transit and no longer the focus of everyday life. This was reflected by the construction of small commercial complexes in the new neighborhoods (Mercur, Minerva or Hermes), moving urban life in more proletarian settings, changing symbols and the characteristics of everyday life. Grigorescu was the first addition, constructed in two steps, between 1961 and 1965, followed by Gheorgheni between 1965 and 1970, as a prized urbanistic achievement with vast and many green spaces and parks, aimed at underlining how communism was to change the quality of life. Mănăștur was the a tightly packed and crowded neighborhood, housing around 100,000 new inhabitants, becoming also a symbol of what urbanization in communism really meant and the issue of the ruralization of cities. Then, during the 1970s, the regime constructed the last neighborhood, Zorilor.[29]

In a previous study I looked at migration patterns on the rural-urban axis during the 1960s. I focused on the experience of a local factory, 'Tehnofrig,' which was built by communist authorities employing the expertise of old workers. This case-study was

[24] Bolovan, Bolovan 2005.
[25] Clujana 2004; Florescu 2015; Destinația 2014.
[26] Destinația 2014.
[27] ACNSAS, Fond Documentar, File D2774 vol. 1, folios 3–4, 7; Prodan 2018.
[28] Zador 2016.
[29] Pop 2015, 193, 221–223, 226, 239, 242, 255–260.

interesting as it illustrates two major phenomena characterizing this period of Cluj's history. On the one hand, the city's ethnic structure changed, as more Romanians migrated from the countryside. On the other hand, 'Tehnofrig' was constructed with the help of a chief-engineer with a prolific career before the rise of communism. After the Second World War the majority of workers were still Hungarian. This gradually changed as Romanian villagers sought employment in factories, after collectivization left them few professional opportunities. In 1960 there were 180 Hungarian and 130 Romanian employees. The tendency remained the same in the following years, 189 Hungarians and 100 Romanians in 1961, while 1963 and 1964 saw double the number of Hungarians hired, with only 1965 constituting an exception from the pattern.[30] 'Tehnofrig' produced complex cooling machinery and quite often required a higher level of technical training, which meant skilled workers. According to Rogers Brubaker, up until the middle of the twentieth century most skilled workers were ethnic Hungarians.[31] Looking at the example of 'Tehnofrig,' this statement seems to stand scrutiny, and the case of other Cluj enterprises seem to follow a similar pattern.[32]

One explanation can be found in the mechanisms of human networks or how ties within a community are created and how they work. Here we must look at the traditional work ethic, mentioned in the introduction of the paper. This usually meant that young workers would spend several years as apprentices until they properly learn the secrets of their trade. The way of entering on this path was most often through personal ties or as Mark Granovetter called them, *the power of weak ties* (interpersonal). According to him social diffusion and mobility can be explained if we look at the connections between individuals, where he underlined the importance of acquaintances. The bigger our social network is the easier it gets to gather more information on work opportunities.[33]

There are limits to using this approach when studying communist societies, as it was mainly developed through the study of Western communities. Migration here was not so much the result of a normal pace of industrialization, but that of the regime's extreme policies. In fact, as studies done in the era have revealed, the authorities' inability to construct urban dwellings efficiently and on time led to a large-scale phenomenon of commuting. Which in turn raised further issues with expanding communications infrastructure so as to not have a negative impact on production.[34] However, we believe that Granovetter's research and arguments can be used to explain why some people sought employment and then secured it in particular factories. In fact, when migration to large cities in Romania became more difficult, these small ties played an important role in the outcome of the employment process.

After analyzing the hiring register of 'Carbochim' and conducting several interviews, we observed that during the 50s and 60s migration tendencies were influenced mainly by the closer and tight connections of rural life, where relatives and neighbors played an important role. However, this external migration towards cities generated tensions with

[30] Onaciu 2015, 84–85.
[31] Brubaker et alii 2010, 126.
[32] Onaciu 2015.
[33] Granovetter 1973, 1368–1369, 1371.
[34] Dezbatere 1977, 735; Chelcea 1973, 391, 397; Doman 1979, 396.

those already working in factories. The same Granovetter researched internal promotions and mobility and he concluded that those already in the system were favored, a position they wished to protect.[35] This came in conflict with the economic and social policies enacted by the communist regime, as heavy industrialization created a massive need for new workers. These were the product of a different system, which had no regard for old community ties.

Migration from the countryside to towns and cities had a double-faced characteristic. In the short run, it tied in to rapid urbanization, the growth of urban spaces and to a certain degree a rise in standards of living and the improvement of many people's lives. Even those who only commuted saw an increase of their income and access to goods found in city shops. In the long run it had a negative impact on rural demographics, it led to the aging of villages and an overall fall in agricultural production, which still relied much on manual labor, despite the supposed mechanization brought by collectivization.[36] Also, as we have already mentioned the people leaving the countryside changed much of what city-life meant bringing with them a different lifestyle.

Migration took two major forms, permanent, when peasants became city-dwellers and commuting, when they made a daily trip form their village to the factory, a daily activity. In fact, it became a very widespread practice, further changing lifestyles. One of the interviewees remembered her father's experience of commuting to Cluj each morning, as he was an unskilled laborer at 'Carbochim.' He would wake-up at 5 a.m. and ride his bicycle to the nearest train stop in a neighboring village. After a long day in the factory, he would go and help his wife on the collective farm.[37] As we have already mentioned, authorities were aware and knew this raised further difficulties in constructing socialism, as these workers were preoccupied by everyday problems. Infrastructure was a major issue which both raised costs and consumed time, hindering the production process of factories.[38]

The second form of migration was permanent, the intentional relocation of workers in cities and towns in search of better jobs or further education. While it was a perfect example of communist social mobility, as the regime's policies insisted on massive industrialization and urbanization, this was not an easy or a straightforward process.

Sometimes it could be quite a challenge to find a job in a factory. Most people required written proof from the collective farm that they were not needed, as they could be replaced by promised equipment. However, directors involved in agriculture were not very keen on losing their young workforce and on many occasions refused such requests. One interviewee revealed that a group of people from the village of Fundătura stole a stamp and falsified the needed documentation. Yet, they were not very open with sharing this experience, but the mystery was solved with the help of another witness.[39]

One of the interviewees emphasized the impact of collectivization on the life of people. She said that seeking a job in the city seemed like the only solution, since there was no future in working on the collective farm. Of course, this was not always easy to do and would require compromise and sacrifice, in her case it meant studying in Timișoara for a

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35 Granovetter et. alii (eds.) 1992, 249.

36 Murgescu 2010, 349.

37 Interview with M.O., February 2014.

38 Dezbatere 1977, 735; Doman 1979, 498.

39 Interview with V.A., April 2014; Interview with Nastasia Dobocan, December 2012.

time, far from home, after using family ties and connections and only later managing to move to Cluj.[40]

For the purpose of our present research, we focused on three factories: 'Tehnofrig,' 'Unirea,' and 'Carbochim.' This was mostly due to methodological reasons, as these, particular, archival fonds were in good shape and offered useful information. Here, it must be stated that many of the old documents were lost to time, either destroyed or in some cases stolen by former employees. This has limited the extent of our approach, however, certain information or details can be recovered through other means such as interviews.

In the case of 'Carbochim,' between 1960 and 1962 most of those who were hired were from Cluj (city), around 214 people. A further look into this and we can see that most of them lived near the factory.[41] The same seems to have been the case for 'Tehnofrig,' especially if we take into account that most new hirees came from traditional workers' parts of the city, hence a possible preference based on pre-existing community relations.[42] We should keep in mind the issue of personal comfort, which would have led many to seek employment close to home. We encountered a significant number of transfer requests on the basis of proximity, something which could make it easier to raise children or taking care of the elderly, and even reducing transportation costs.[43] If we compare it with the previous period, there was a tendency of constructing new neighborhoods or housing communities in the vicinity of important factories. In this regard, the best example was that of 'Clujana,' and the 'Janos Herbak Colony.'

Of course, these phenomena did not exclude migration from the countryside, even if at this particular moment in time, it might still have been lighter. Again, looking at the case of 'Carbochim,' we can see people coming from villages, two of them being Iclod and Fundătura (also known at the time as Inău). Both are halfway between Cluj and Dej, another urban center in the same county. However, these people chose 'Carbochim.' We focused on these two villages as we had prior knowledge of the relationships between their inhabitants. We borrowed from anthropology in the hopes of bridging the gap of information between the past and the present. Our findings were not necessarily surprising, as close ties seem to have played a key role. Many of the new hirees were related, either brothers or cousins, one would recommend the other, generating a snowball effect.

Further looking into this we have managed to identify a few individual examples which can serve to illustrate how the process we described worked. In Fundătura we have the case of Ilisie Crăciun, who got a job at 'Carbochim' on 11 September 1961, one day after his brother. This clearly indicates that they followed the lines of the same social network. Another similar example was that of two other brothers, Ioan and Teodor Mureșan who's hiring was at a year's distance. Again, this is hinting at the influence of close ties and how they guided one's professional path. The same can be found in the other village, Iclod, with the example of the Șerban brothers, who were hired at 'Carbochim' in 1960s.[44] Yet, there are evident limits to how many similar situations we can identify, although if we take into

[40] Interview cu V.A., April 2014; Interview with O.M., February 2014.
[41] SJC AN, Fond Carbochim, File 4/1960–1962.
[42] Onaciu Vlad 2015, 100–103.
[43] SJC AN, Fond Tehnofrig, File 372/1964, folio 30.
[44] SJC AN, Fond Carbochim, Registrul de personal, folios 20, 55, 84, 75.

account the fact that these are small communities based on kinship, it is more than likely that personal relationships played an important role.

Old vs. New Workers

Shifting our attention towards the city, it is not very difficult to identify similar trends. People would recommend each other or give advice regarding potential workplaces, an element frequently reflected in hiring requests,[45] as an instrument of transmitting a level of trust. This should be seen within the framework of the traditional work ethic system, based on apprenticeship and tight community relationships, either by the influence of family or tight community relationships, either by the influence of family or that of friends. Very similar to what happened in the case of village kinship was also an important element, especially when it came to fathers and sons.

By the time the 1980s came we can observe growing differences between generations. The wish to move into urban spaces was more widespread among young people as villages offered little in terms of perspectives or a chance at a more modern lifestyle. This was also the result of the transformations brought on by the collectivization of agriculture which had broken ties with land.[46] Also, we must take into account the impact of education, which was now more widespread, opening them to new horizons. The phenomenon became so far spread that the regime used artistic films to spread propaganda on the matter. *Buletin de București* was one example where a young woman tries to marry a man in order to gain residence in the capital of Romania and not be sent off on a state farm as an engineer. Of course, the story is wrapped up in a romantic comedy and in the end the two end-up together happily living at the post assigned to them by the state.[47]

This pull of big cities raised problems for the regime, as it was difficult to expand urban spaces at the right pace. Also, this meant that certain regions ran the risk of depopulation and stagnation. The plot of *Buletin de București* serves to illustrate the clash between the wants of citizens and the objectives of communism. Cluj was also a large city attracting the interest of young people, especially when part of its industrial sector began growing.[48] Looking into individual cases, we find a very diverse range of motives brought by people in order to persuade authorities. Many of them invoked family issues in their official petitions, such as caring for aging parents, grand-parents, even younger siblings or to reunite with their spouses. In some other examples, people wanted better working conditions, even if upon further investigation it seems to have been more of an excuse, the real reason being a wish to live closer to home.[49]

Work repartition was the main instrument used by the regime in order to re-direct its human resources based on the needs of the five-year plans, it allowed for the control of migration.[50] According to Decree No. 158 from 1970, after finishing their studies, graduates were assigned to workplaces based on their grades based on a list created by the Council

[45] SJC AN, Fond Tehnofrig, File 372/1964, folios 12, 43.
[46] Jowitt 1971, passim.
[47] *Buletin de București* 1982.
[48] Murgescu 2010, 349–352.
[49] SJC AN, Fond Tehnofrig, File 372/1964, folio 120.
[50] SJC AN, Fond Unirea, File 527/1962, folios 159, 163, 173, 195.

of Ministers. The law allowed for the request of being assigned to one's hometown or in the proximity of spouses.[51] Other pieces of legislation further aid us in understanding how the system functioned. Ministerial Order No. 70 from 1964 from the Ministry of Heavy Industry sent to 'Carbochim' reveals that repartition was made by General Directorates based on specialization all under the guidance of the Ministry with a recommendation from the Education Directorate. This was also influenced by the number of workers requested by individual enterprises, which became part of the five-year plan. In turn, this was reflected in the number of places they made available for new students. Article 4 of the same order mentioned that changes in repartitions brought by individual petitions could happen only if approved by general directorates and by the Ministry. Basically, people were at the mercy of bureaucrats and this encouraged them to resort to alternative means or solutions. Article 7 stated that enterprises were compelled to offer accommodation for young new hirees, as well as transportation, especially for those commuting from villages.[52]

As we have already mentioned, the increasing need for new workers meant the education system required modifications. The most pregnant of these was its massification so as to catch as much as possible of young people. It also forced mutations in terms of how individuals interacted, old workers' social structures and values. Initially, the new order was refused by old workers, who saw it as a threat to their way of life and their privileged position.

During the 1950s we can observe that authorities began focusing on technical education, opening new schools and creating new specializations. This was aimed at teaching young people how to operate equipment in factories and was supposed to aid in the mechanization of industry. Ghiță Ionescu argued that the main issue of this process was that the trainees were very well prepared and that the quality of these mass-produced skilled workers was poor.[53] However, like in the Soviet case, this facilitated social mobility, opening paths to new and better paid jobs.[54] Very often there would be a transition from unskilled to skilled work through formal education and the regime tried helping this transformation. Factories would allow workers to go on leave in order to finish their education or to get ready for final examinations.[55] In fact, this trend can be observed in upper education, as there was a growing need for engineers as well. There was a specific number of places allotted for enterprises and administrative structures and their employees. By 1957, there was a maximum level of 77,7% at a national level. However, there was a growing concern regarding the quality of those admitted, as some did not even get their Bacalaureat examination. During the 1960s the admission criteria were adjusted, focusing more on knowledge and examination than on social origins. Given the strain education could put on the lifestyle of industrial workers, authorities adapted and created evening and part-time courses. This both allowed them to remain in production and to further their training.[56]

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[51] Decree no. 158/1970.

[52] SJC AN, Fond Întreprinderea Carbochim, File 113/1964, folios 111–113.

[53] Ionescu 1994, 205–206.

[54] Fitzpatrick 1979, 16.

[55] SJC AN, Fond Unirea, File 527/1962, folios 85–90, 95.

[56] Gheboianu 2014, 112–115.

The entire approach to education changed during communism from acquiring specific skills to more general knowledge, offering the possibility of broader career choices. Of course, this should be seen from the perspective of the regime as it allowed for more flexible distribution of workers. There was also a lowering of admission standards which would allow unskilled workers and peasants to be trained. In fact, they even received preferential treatment and were favored in the admission process.[57] This is where the old order of apprenticeship and earning one's place within the workforce was torn down, replaced by the massification of education.[58]

The issue of traditional work ethics was double facetted. Firstly, as we have already underlined, it influenced how social mobility worked; peasants seeking employment in factories after the collectivization of agriculture. For young people this offered then the chance for a bigger income.[59] One of our interviewees said he chose to work at 'Carbochim' to get money to improve his house, but was never tempted to move to the city.[60] In a sense, this added up to the regime's need to create a new elite and social groups loyal to its new order through social-economic ascension.[61]

The other facet was focused on the manner in which knowledge and position were gained. Apprenticeship was still used in training, but it was re-defined through new legislation. This model was borrowed from the Soviet experience, as the length was reduced and the process was integrated within formal education, under the guidance of the state. This generated much frustration with old workers in Cluj, especially during the 1950s and 1960s. They felt their status threatened. Although, we should add that there was an ethnic factor as well, as most workers in Cluj used to be Hungarians and the majority of newcomers were Romanians. However, we should not see this as an ethnic competition, as communist authorities paid attention to the issue. In the new order a young worker could attain position through dedication and a wish for acquiring knowledge through formal education.[62]

We attempted to look into the relationship between these two categories of workers by focusing on a case-study of the 'Unirea' factory. One interesting example was that of a machinist who was accused of insubordination. According to his testimony he was assigned to work by himself with promises of creating a group in the future. Later he was moved to team-up with an elderly employee, who could not keep-up and he was eventually transferred. A turning point came when he was forced to go on leave as there was not enough work, something which he found unfair. However, looking over the documents, it seems that all workers enrolled in evening courses did the same. Upon his return they transferred him to the packing section due to a lack of production activity at the moment. He was displeased with his new tasks, voicing this, which in turn brought sanctions for indiscipline.[63] This example has a double meaning in our research. On the one hand, it clearly illustrates the issue of masked unemployment, as there were more workers than

[57] Fitzpatrick 1979, 3–5.
[58] Lőnhárt, Țârău 2014, 312.
[59] Also see Tamaș, Fulea 1980, 316–317; Miftode 1978, 269.
[60] Interview with Ilisie Crăciun, November, 2013.
[61] Fitzpatrick 1979, 3–4.
[62] Lőnhárt, Țârău 2014, 312–314, 322–324.
[63] SJC AN, Fond Unirea, File 527/1962, folios 85–90.

tasks, which often led to people being assigned to different jobs than their qualification. Of course, this hoarding of human resources was due to the phenomenon of storming at the end of the month. On the other hand, it shows us a glimpse of the strategies employed by managers, sacrificing young workers and students so as to keep those more experienced satisfied.

Further looking into documents from 'Unirea' we notice that the administration would send periodic reports to the Ministry explaining their efforts in integrating skilled newcomers as the entire factory collective was responsible for their instruction.[64] It seems that the regime was interested that its investments not be wasted, it sought a form of confirmation or validation of its policies. However, this was anything but a straightforward issue, since very often planification and ministerial requirements did not coincide.

For example, in 1962 we have the case of a worker who was deemed surplus and the management was unsure what to do with him. He had been hired in the debiting section to clean the yard, although he did not fit the job description, but they needed workers. He could not count properly and did not know to properly use the equipment, even breaking it.[65] His case was not singular, they faced the same difficulties with a miller who showed no signs of improvement.[66] Of course, these situations could end-up slowing-down production and frustrating everyone in the factory running after those elusive goals imposed by the five-year plan.

Such difficulties must have been common knowledge at the level of the ministries, since multiple enterprises had reported them directly. In 1964, at 'Tehnofrig,' it was stated that they faced issues with respecting official norms due to the poor training of apprentices and fresh graduates. They requested measures be taken urgently for the improvement of the situation. Some of the blame was also placed on foremen, who did not properly group new and experienced workers.[67] This was even reflected in a relaxed attitude towards norms which could generate problems in production due to breaking down of machinery, indiscipline, and the poor quality of generated output.[68] However, we should take into account that some norms might have been put aside due to overall difficulties in the system itself. Some workers had to overcompensate for the inefficiency of others, others did not respect rules in order to get in front when it came to bonuses. And, of course, there were those who did not really care about their work.

Specialists

While the rapidly growing industrial sector of the Romanian economy required an ever-increasing number of new workers it also needed people with experience, who could oversee the process. The Soviet experience was one of experimentation with the extremes of policies, including the extent of purges. Sheila Fitzpatrick has done extensive research on the issue, illustrating how technical elites educated and formed during the Tsarist period were never fully trusted. The best-known cases were those of the Shakhty

[64] SJC AN, Fond Unirea, File 526/1962, folio 31.
[65] SJC AN, Fond Unirea, File 526/1962, folio 262.
[66] SJC AN, Fond Unirea, File 526/1962, folios 530–531.
[67] SJC AN, Fond Comitetul Orășenesc de Partid Cluj, File 24/1964, folios 19–20.
[68] SJC AN, Fond Comitetul Orășenesc de Partid Cluj, File 24/1964, folio 20.

Trial and that of the Industrial Party.[69] The Romanian experience was different, as it was milder and more flexible. As Daniel Chirot argued, the regime needed the help of these old specialists in order to enact their policies for massive and rapid industrialization.[70] While it was not common practice when it came to engineers and specialists, there were some individuals from this group under the surveillance of the Securitate, the Romanian secret police.

The archives offer one such example, that of Dezideriu Jenei, a chief-engineer and one of the pillars of the Hungarian community in Cluj. A product of inter-war society, he came to work for the Hungarian government during World War II, at the 'Siemens' factory. However, it was not this that brought him to the attention of the secret police, but the fact he was involved with the Unitarian faith, which was mistrusted by the communist regime. His example is rare and offers an opportunity to follow the fate of a specialist in the new world constructed by the communist regime. It must also be mentioned that reading the documents of the Securitate we must pay attention to the nuances of their narrative and not end caught-up in it.

Dezideriu Jenei was born in 1919 and went to school in Miercurea Ciuc, later moving to the 'George Barițiu' highschool in Cluj in 1937. Years four and five of his university studies were in Budapest and even worked at 'Siemens' in Budapest, learning how electrical appliances were fabricated.[71] Until 1944 he worked as a special receiver of war products. He was later sent to specialize in Vienna and Germany.[72] After the war he returned to Cluj where started teaching at the Hungarian Industrial Highschool, but was eventually fired.[73] However, it seems he enjoyed some appreciation and in 1951 was asked to teach at the Polytechnic Institute, though he declined to offer.[74] He also opened his own workshop, 'Meopel,' hiring somewhere between 30 to 40 workers and an engineer. In 1949 he lost the business to the regime's nationalization policies of the economy. It seems that some of them were hired at 'Tehnofrig' by their former boss.[75] This illustrates the importance of the previously mentioned small-connections of community of personal interactions and networks.

The assigned manager, Ludovic Hartman, brought on Jenei as chief-engineer and Erwin Baatz, another former small-business owner, as the one responsible for hirings[76] and set to construct 'Tehnofrig.' As expected, Jenei's relationship with authorities was not always the best. However, we would like to air on the side of caution here, given the Securitate's tendency to construct its own narratives. But we can still look over some of the episodes found in the informative notes. Some of the most frequent were related to production issues or the abandonment of equipment prototypes. In 1959 production started on a new milk separator, which soon after was stopped, and the existing 11 pieces were hidden. Their value was estimated at around 500,000 lei. Supposedly, the blame rested with Jenei, who

[69] Fitzpatrick 2001, 122–123, 127.

[70] Chirot 1978, 462.

[71] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ, I 235724, Vol.1, folio 6.

[72] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ I 235724, Vol. 1, 6–7; Vol.2, folio 100.

[73] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ I 235724, Vol. 1, folio 7.

[74] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ I 235724, Vol.2, folio 110.

[75] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ I 235724, Vol.1, folio 7.

[76] ACNSAS, București, Fond Documentar, D 2777, Vol. 2, folios 1–5.

delayed the project.[77] Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that this machinery was either failed innovation or that the 'Tehnofrig' production line was not suited for it.

The worst incident in the history of the factory occurred while Jenei was still chief-engineer, one man lost his life and another a hand during tests run on a prototype a metal ring from a milk separator broke. Further investigation revealed that there had been issues with the fabrication material and the process itself had been flawed. The fatal defect appeared somewhere during transportation. The authorities tried proving it was Jenei's fault, arguing that his orders had been to produce the fatal ring from thin material.[78] In the end, the chief-engineer was not found guilty and continued his career. The Securitate's narrative tried explaining this as the result of Jenei using his ties to escape punishment.

The explanation for this hostile attitude towards the chief-engineer is most likely a double one. On one hand, he was not trusted due to his ties to the Unitarian community, but he was never truly confronted as the regime did not to upset the Hungarian minority. On the other hand, this might be explainable by a hostile attitude towards old specialists, as representatives of the previous order.[79] However, this seems more specific for the Soviet Union, as there were no similar actions like the Shakty Trial in Romania. We can observe in documents that some of the workers were hostile towards their leadership. Yet it is very difficult to establish if this was due to ideological convictions or just general dissatisfaction with conditions in the factory. They voiced concerns that Jenei was unwilling to negotiate with them. This is illustrated by an incident in which he met with a commission of workers listened to their ideas and denied all their proposals and ideas.[80]

Another worthwhile episode is related to the work schedule in three shifts. It was noticed there was an increased number of failed or defective products. This was the result of working in three shifts which cut continuity from production leading to a higher number of mistakes.[81] Also, the lack of experience among new workers also generated problems, coupled with the shortage of materials and parts, as well as issues of indiscipline and coordination.[82] Yet, there are limits to how much we can read from these documents which makes it very difficult to draw clear and definitive conclusions about worker relationship. However, we can observe that there were occasional snags on the production floor.[83]

Misunderstandings between workers and their bosses were not necessarily the result of some inherent antagonism, interests did not always coincide. The bosses were focused on fulfilling plan goals, as they wanted to keep their positions of privilege or even earning promotions. Workers were interested in easing their lives and workloads. Yet, the documents from the Securitate offer us a glimpse into how certain people used the regime's language to express dissatisfaction.[84] In 1954, one of the informants complained that only those in leadership positions had been rewarded and they were formed around

[77] ACNSAS, București, Fond Documentar D 2777, Vol. 2, folios 120–121.

[78] ACNSAS, București, Fond Documentar D 2777, Vol. 2, folios 110–111, 120–121, 123–124.

[79] Fitzpatrick 1979, 114.

[80] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ, I 235724, Vol. 1, 2, Vol.3, folios 107–108.

[81] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ, I 235724, Vol. 2, folios 152–153, 164, 169.

[82] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ, I 235724, Vol. 3, folios 29–30.

[83] Filtzer 2002.

[84] Juliane Fürst researched the way in which those who grew up under the communist regime in the Soviet Union learnt to use official language to express dissatisfaction or complaints. In time, what had once been used

Jenei as a corrupt group, accusing him of sabotage.[85] They also accused him of firing good men in order to make room for his, characterized as dubious, former company directors, exploiters or members of fascist movements.[86] These wordings serve as a perfect illustration of how workers came to use parts of the official discourse as a way of communicating with the authorities. It is essential that we look at them from this angle, as otherwise we could end-up reading only the narrative of the Securitate. Of course, it is very likely that Jenei employed people he had worked with before, as part of the role played by small social networks within the community.

The story told by these documents is at times contradictory, hinting at either the ambivalent attitude of the informants or at the fact that each of these individuals had a different relationship with the chief-engineer. In one note from 1956, Jenei is put in a very good light in the approach towards 'Tehnofrig' employees. Here he is presented as being interested in the situation of the workers and wants to help improve it. He proposed that with the celebration of 1 May prizes from the director's fund be given.[87] This difference in narrative was most likely the result of the variety of informants used in the operation, each having their own agenda and relationship with the chief-engineer.

Research into the case of Jenei's Securitate file revealed that some of those described as being part of his circle were in fact informants themselves and not saboteurs. This serves both to help us see how warped reality can become if we let ourselves get enveloped by the official narrative created by the officers, but also illustrates the complexity of social interactions in that period. Yet, in the end, the chief-engineer's case was almost unique since he was not surveilled as a specialist, but as an important figure within a religious and ethnic community. Still, this has offered contemporary historians the opportunity to follow the destiny of a specialist formed in the interwar period after the instauration of the communist regime in Romania.

Conclusions

In the previous pages we aimed at understanding some of the social transformations enacted by the communist regime's economic policies. As the collectivization of agriculture changed the lifestyle of peasants and industry grew at a fast pace, the essence of social mobility shifted from acquiring land to seeking employment in a factory. We focused on a case-study of Cluj as it helped in illustrating clear examples for a broad phenomenon. The city had factories before communism and these were aided for further growth while other were added to its economy. One other reason for choosing Cluj as our case-study was due to its ethnic diversity, which further highlights the important role played by communities and interpersonal ties in migration.

Throughout this paper we underlined two of the most important transformations we could identify, as well as how they manifested and their impact on society. Firstly, migration during the communist period changed the demographic landscape of Romania.

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to suppress or accuse was now an instrument of criticism without opposing the regime itself, only the failures of its bureaucracy, see Fürst 2010.

[85] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ, I 235724, Vol. 1, folio 3.

[86] ACNSAS, București, Fond Informativ, I 235724, Vol. 1, folio 4.

[87] ACNSAS, București, I 235724, Vol.3, folio 45.

A great number of people moved from the countryside to towns and cities, seeking better lives with more opportunities. This migration took many forms, some decided to move permanently in an urban setting and thus benefiting from its modern advantages. Others, were either unable or unwilling to part with their villages, but did find jobs in industry, they became commuters.

Migration created a whole new set of problems, a conflict or at least a clash between old workers and new ones. The previous work ethic focused on apprenticeship and the accumulation of knowledge and experience through the years, position was earned. However, rapid industrialization generated a need for more skilled workers and this led to the creation of widespread formal training in 2 to 3 years. It could also be seen as a confrontation between new and old city dwellers, one fought around lifestyles.

Lastly, the case of Dezideriu Jenei plays an important role in completing the overall image of how traditional work ethics changed. It shows us how old specialists could play a role in the new economy, focused on industrialization. He became an essential part in the construction of 'Tehnofrig' and the integration of new workers in the production process. It also serves as an example of how to read documents created by the Securitate and not to take their narrative as the whole truth.

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ROMANIAN URBAN MONUMENTS AND PLACE NAMES IN CLUJ

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Abstract: This article analyses the sites of memory in Cluj, in order to highlight the process of the city's symbolic Romanianization. The main sources are public monuments and street toponymy, while the methodology is based on anthropological literature and direct observation of sites and their corresponding social practices. The results of the research reveal the main ideological themes and symbolic functions associated with the monuments and names of Cluj.

Keywords: Cluj, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, historical memory, public monuments, urban toponymy

Rezumat: În acest articol sunt analizate locurile memoriei din Cluj, în vederea evidențierii procesului de românizare simbolică a orașului. Principalele surse utilizate sunt monumentele publice și toponimia stradală, iar metodologia se bazează pe literatura antropologică și pe observația directă a siturilor și a practicilor sociale corespunzătoare acestora. Rezultatele cercetării dezvăluie principalele teme ideologice și funcții simbolice asociate monumentelor și denumirilor clujene.

Cuvinte cheie: Cluj, secolele XX–XXI, memorie istorică, monumente publice, toponimie urbană

Introduction

In this article we aim to analyse some of the public monuments erected in Cluj over the past few decades, as well as the places affected by the local 'naming policy' (districts, streets, squares, institutions), in order to highlight the way in which the process of symbolic Romanianization has been carried out in the city.[1] Almost every sculpted bust, school name or text in a modest explanatory inscription, dating back to the years of the Romanian administration, hides a wealth of meanings that tend to legitimize the discourse extolling the Romanianness of the city. In methodological terms, we will focus our attention on the *symbolic functions* performed by the sites of memory, in an attempt to highlight the contours of the commemorative topography of Romanian Cluj.

The working tools we have used are a series of Romanian and Hungarian city guides and studies on the history of Cluj, duly referenced in this work. To these are added: the *List of Historical Monuments in Cluj County*, compiled by the Ministry of Culture (completed with photographic images on *Wikipedia*), the *Memorie și cunoaștere locală* ['Memory and Local Knowledge'] website of the 'Octavian Goga' Cluj County Library, the *Street Nomenclator*, available on the official website of the City Hall, and *Google Maps*. The main research method has been that of direct observation of the sites of memory, the

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[1] For anthropological analyses on this subject, see Jakab 2009, 1–35; Brubaker et alii 2010.

commemorative practices associated with them over the past 35 years (since the author of this study has been living in Cluj), and their echoes in the newspapers of the time.

Depending on their symbolic and ideological content, the monuments and names envisaged here illustrate three major themes that we will consider below: a) suffering and redemption; b) pan-Romanian unity and continuity; c) anti-communism.

Suffering and Redemption

If we take into account their size and their visual and urbanistic impact, the most imposing public monuments in Cluj that are sites of Romanian historical memory are the *Statue of Avram Iancu* (in the square that bears his name), the *Memorandists' Monument*, which flanks the central square of the city, and the *Cross on Citadel Hill*. All three were built in the years when the city was administered by the nationalist mayor Gheorghe Funar (1992–2004). In terms of their symbolic content, they evoke *suffering* and *sacrifice* (followed by the subsequent *victory*), forcefully illustrating the most important theme of the Romanian historical imaginary in Cluj. These monuments are just the most striking examples, because the message they convey was also cultivated during the interwar and communist periods (with present-day echoes). The Funar era simply brought these essential symbols to the fore in somewhat aggrandized manner, often bordering on caricature.

Since the interwar period, Cluj has been seen by Romanian intellectuals as a city where their countrymen suffered under Hungarian oppression for hundreds of years. In fact, the whole of Transylvania is represented in this way in the Romanian imaginary, if we think, for example, about the work of Octavian Goga, 'the poet of our sorrows.'[2] But since Cluj was, proportionally, 'more Hungarian' than other places, that feeling has been exploited here to the fullest, setting a paradigmatic example. On the other hand, since it is considered the capital of Transylvania, Cluj has been highlighted as the most Romanian city of all! However, the fact of the matter is that Cluj used to be one of the most Hungarian places in Transylvania! At the symbolic level, the Romanian sense of frustration and the need for retaliation, which culminated in the Funar era, were born from this huge inconsistency.

However, this symbolic discrepancy was also fueled by the recent historical experience. In 1918, after the ordeal of 'a thousand years,' the day of victory was finally in sight but this cycle, which seemed to have come to an end, started again in 1940, after the Vienna Arbitration, when the oppressors – who would have thought! – returned to Cluj. This time it was the Hungarians who came back, triumphantly riding a white horse, launching a new ordeal and reediting the mythical cycle of suffering and injustice, while the aggrieved Romanians watched again, from the hill of Feleac (marking the border with Hungary at this time), the city that was no longer theirs…[3] And then, again, came the just and necessary reparation and historical revenge! Cluj was the main Transylvanian city that experienced, in less than three decades, so many historical dramas that have, unsurprisingly, left deep marks in the collective memory of its inhabitants.[4]

[2] All the quotations in this paper were translated from Romanian to English by Carmen Borbély.

[3] Stanca 1987, 302–303.

[4] Incidentally, the tragic irony of fate was that neither the Romanians nor the Hungarians were the main victims of those years, but the more than 16,000 Jews deported from Cluj to Auschwitz in 1944. *The Memorial Temple* on Horea Street, the *Holocaust Victims' Monument* in Caragiale Park, and the inscriptions placed

Among the historical moments that may be used to endorse these images of Romanian suffering (versus Hungarian oppression), the most important is the Revolution of 1848. The motivation of this choice is a rational one. Despite historical images that speak of the age-old struggles between Romanians and Hungarians, the truth is that they have produced few human victims throughout history compared to other European conflicting dyads (the French vs. the Germans, the English vs. the Irish, the Poles vs. the Russians, the Serbs vs. the Bosnians, or the Greeks vs. the Turks). The period September 1848 – August 1849 was the only one in which, in the context of a complicated revolution, with many actors and extremely diverse motivations (political, social, national), there was also an interethnic Romanian-conflict, which caused thousands of victims on both sides. *The Cross on Citadel Hill*, erected in 1997,[5] evokes the '40,000 Romanians'[6] sacrificed on the altar of the national cause, under the leadership of Avram Iancu, in 1848.

The *Statue of Avram Iancu*, unveiled in 1993,[7] is the most representative monument of the Funar era and, by extension, of the revanchist image cultivated by Romanian nationalism, an image based on the opposition between the suffering caused by Hungarian oppression and the struggle that led, eventually, to the Romanians' redemption through victory. Because it pushed this message to the extremes (through its ostentatious character and also through its aesthetic failure), the statue has often been criticized in the public arena and proposals for its demolition have been advanced. For now, it is still part of the urban landscape of Cluj but the City Hall has made efforts to tone down its jarring features, surrounding it with an artesian well.

Despite the questionable style of the monument, the message it conveys perfectly captures the imaginary of Romanian nationalism. Although it is placed at the top of a huge granite column, dominating the entire city and showing everyone who the masters are here today, Iancu's posture is not at all threatening, it is not even triumphant and is rather nonspecific to heroic statues. The sword he holds in his left hand is not removed from its sheath, but held in mid-motion. The suggestion is that Romanians are gentle, lenient, although they can also be very determined when necessary. In any case, they must always be alert, because enemies can return at any time. In the subtext, the image is constructed in contrast to that of the Hungarians. Hungarians are violent, while Romanians are peaceful

in the former *Cluj ghetto* (recently demolished) in Iris District and at the Central Station, from where the death trains left, are the major sites of memory that evoke neither Romanians nor Hungarians, but are dedicated to the Jews in Cluj. Romanian nationalist historians have attempted to exploit this situation in their symbolic conflict with the Hungarians, claiming that, like the Romanians, the Jews were the victims of the Hungarian administration and minimizing Romanian anti-Semitism, manifested just as virulently in Transnistria. Similarly, some Hungarian historians have tended to exonerate Horthy and minimize Hungarian responsibility for the Transylvanian Holocaust, blaming it on the Nazis and their local far-right collaborators.

[5] Also called the *National Heroes' Monument*, see Monumentul Eroii Neamului 2016.

[6] This figure has been advanced in Romanian historiography. In reply, Hungarian historiography considers that this number was smaller and highlights the victims caused by Romanians. The opponents of the Hungarian revolution were executed on Citadel Hill, which housed an old Habsburg garrison. The most famous victim here was a Saxon intellectual, pastor Stephan Ludwig Roth, shot for siding with the imperial cause. Roth, an ally of the Transylvanian Romanians in their disputes with Hungarian nationalists, was appreciated by them for having emphasized their importance in the political echelons of the province. The place of his execution is marked by an inscription and a street near Citadel Hill bears his name.

[7] Statuia lui Avram Iancu 2017.

and rise to arms only when they are imperiled. Hungarians are aggressive, while Romanians are temperate and do nothing but defend their rights when they are under threat. Because Romanians are fair and are always right (at least in their confrontation with the oppressing Hungarians), they have never been able to commit excesses, for which they have perhaps been wrongly blamed. Excesses can only be perpetrated by the enemies and the only battles we have waged have been for self-defense.

The statue of Avram Iancu was the central point of a partially successful attempt to create a Romanian counterpoint in relation to the old Central Square of Cluj, dominated by the Hungarian symbols of St. Michael's Church and the statue of Matthias Corvinus. Behind the statue of Iancu lies the Orthodox Cathedral, an imposing and valuable artistic monument, erected between 1923 and 1933,[8] an edifice that successfully rivalled, in architectural terms, the old Gothic church of the city. It was one of the most telling symbolic proofs that the Romanians could stand up to the former masters of the city (similar achievements were recorded, in those years, in Alba Iulia and Timișoara, where Orthodox cathedrals were built). In front of the statue lies the elegant building that houses the National Theatre and the Romanian Opera, another architectural emblem of Cluj. Although it was inaugurated in 1906, as the headquarters of the Hungarian National Theatre, after 1919 it was taken over by the Romanian authorities[9] and it quickly became a powerful Romanian symbol of the city, due to the national character of the cultural institutions it sheltered. This successful process of symbolic Romanianization of a former Hungarian cultural emblem was also made possible by the fact that the Hungarians moved their theatre and opera to another, more modest building (Sétatéri Színház, at the entrance to the Central Park). This is how an institutional dyad was installed in the city: the Romanian Opera versus the Hungarian Opera. The Romanians felt at home in the old, typically Austro-Hungarian building in La Belle Époque style. They had no qualms to consider it 'their own,' also thanks to its new name. The statues of Blaga and Eminescu, which flank its platform today, further highlight this (miss)appropriation. The Romanian Military Circle and the Orthodox Episcopal (later Metropolitan) Palace reinforced the Romanian features of the square. As a result, since the era of Gheorghe Funar, the national day of 1 December has been celebrated here, with military parades and fireworks shot from behind the statue of Iancu. The square is better suited to such events from a practical point of view, which is why concerts and similar fireworks, which are generally devoid of national overtones, are organized here on New Year's Eve.

On the other hand, the old square of the city, dominated by the statue of Matthias Corvinus and the monumental Gothic church, a square that Romanians no longer perceive as a 'Hungarian' space today, remains the real heart of the city, especially since it has been refurbished to accommodate the main public space of Cluj during the years of Emil Boc's mayorship.

Although the Revolution of 1848 is of such importance to the Transylvanian Romanians, it would not have been connected at all to Cluj – for the Romanians, that is – had it not been for the episode of Avram Iancu's studies. On the other hand, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution in Pest, on March, is the most

[8] Lukács 2005, 94.
[9] Lukács 2005, 97–98.

important national holiday for the Hungarians in Cluj, as well as for their countrymen elsewhere. They mark it every year through solemn demonstrations in the streets of Cluj and cultivate the memory of the revolutionary leaders who passed through the city (the poet Petőfi or General Bem). The Romanians living in Cluj have no similar way of celebrating any moment related to the Revolution of 1848. In the Funar era, in particular, there were only the counter-manifestations of the Cluj-based nationalists, who were outraged by the Hungarians' 15 March celebrations. In symbolic terms, the explanation of these different commemorative practices is simple. Romanians prefer to celebrate 1 December 1918, the day of victory, which gave them satisfaction for their sufferings. In 1848, in Cluj, the Transylvanian Diet voted for the union of Transylvania with Hungary (a goal first formulated on 15 March 1848!). Hence, no reason for the Romanians to rejoice! As a result, although its text evokes the years of the Revolution of 1848, the cheerful and engaging *Iancu's March* (reminiscent of Rossini's arias) is sung in Cluj on 1 December.

On the other hand, *Awaken Thee, Romanian!* (which became the national anthem of Romania after the Revolution of December 1989) also dates back to 1848, but it obviously also sounds better on 1 December. The significance of the memorial pair 1848–1918 (suffering, followed by struggle and victory) is suggestively illustrated by the alternation of these commemorative and musical symbols.

The building in which the unification of Transylvania and Hungary was voted for the second time, in 1865 (Redoubt Palace,[10] where the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania is located today), was to witness, three decades later, in 1894, the scene of the Memorandists` trial – the second important historical moment that evokes the theme of national suffering and persecution, even though no one was hanged at that time. A number of leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians were brought to a trial that had strong political overtones. They were the authors of a petition addressed to the emperor in which they protested against the national policy of the Hungarian state. They were tried and sentenced to prison, receiving terms that ranged from two months to five years. The trial caused vivid public emotions not only in the country, but also abroad. Its protagonists were considered martyrs of the national cause even though they were all pardoned about one year later. The fact that this trial was staged in Cluj gave Gheorghe Funar yet another opportunity to commemorate the sacrifices of Transylvanian Romanians in the city. On the anniversary of one century since the event, he commissioned a huge monument (the *Memorandists' Monument*),[11] which was better accomplished, in artistic terms, than the statue of Avram Iancu.[12] Its location in the corner of the Central Square was also meant to contribute to the symbolic Romanianization of this essential space for the urban identity of Cluj, on the same revanchist and grandiloquent note. Moreover, the memory of the Memorandists also benefited from the fact that the street where the trial had taken place – one of the important arteries of the city – was renamed after them.[13]

[10] Lukács 2005, 101–102.

[11] Monumentul Memorandiştilor 2016.

[12] However, its gloomy appearance made some people in Cluj dub it 'Funar's guillotine.'

[13] This trial is, however, a lesser-known event compared to the Revolution of 1848 or the figure of Avram Iancu, so its memory is less strongly imprinted in mass culture. Young people, especially those for whom 'Memorandum St.' is too complicated a phrase, call it "Memo" [there are also places with this name], which highlights the fragility and lesser prominence of this symbol.

As in many other post-1989 cases, this renaming was also intended to restore a desirable, from an ideological standpoint, interwar situation. After 1919, Romanians changed the name of Unirii St. (*Unió utca*, evoking the union of Transylvania with Hungary) to Memorandului St., reversing the commemoration of the two historical events hosted by Redoubt Palace. In 1941, during the Hungarian administration, the name *Unió* was restored. In 1945, in order to prevent re-igniting nationalist passions and to mark the return of Romanian rule in an ethnically neutral way, the street was called King Michael's St. Clearly, the Communists once again reconfigured historical memory, rejecting both 'bourgeois nationalism' and the monarchy, when they named it December 30 St. (the day of the establishment of the People's Republic).[14] Finally, after 1989, historical justice was restored once again for the Romanians, the name Memorandului St. evoking once again the Memorandists, since a return to the name 'King Michael's St.' was disavowed by the pro-Iliescu neo-communists (who dominated Romania and Cluj in the early 1990s, wielding the weapons of nationalism in such a way as to benefit their agenda and to hold on to political power).

The third historical element that strongly symbolizes the theme of the suffering inflicted upon the Romanians by the Hungarians is personified by Horea, the head of the peasant uprising of 1784.

Although Horea had nothing to do with the history of Cluj, his historical memory is linked to that of the Motzen, who used to sell their barrels in the city, which they entered via the old Mănăştur road (this was a village connected, ethnographically, to the Romanian area of the Apuseni Mountains). After 1918, this artery was renamed by the Romanian authorities Calea Moţilor ['Motzen Ave.']. In 1968, a wooden church – allegedly built by Horea in 1773 – was brought to and restored in the Ethnographic Park.[15]

Horea's figure was not highlighted in the Funar era, not because he had lost his power of persuasion, but because his commemorative potential had been exhausted during the communist period, and the new mayor turned to less extensively exploited subjects. Horea, who illustrated the idea of martyrdom and sacrifice more than any other Romanian Transylvanian, was a well-liked character both in the period between the two World Wars, when he was a favorite symbol of the Transylvanian far-right (see, for example, the work of the Legionary poet Aron Cotruş), and during the communist period. He was of particular interest because his tragic end could be attributed to both the 'Hungarians' and the 'nobles' (categories that were confused in the populist-nationalist ideological mindset). The social goals of his uprising made Horea desirable to communist ideology, even during the period of proletarian internationalism. He could be glorified as a symbol of class struggle (like the Szekler Gheorghe Doja, who was also nationalized, albeit in a more discreet way, through the Romanian spelling of his name). The nationalists, who were repressed in the early years of the new regime, could also gain some satisfaction, especially as the local communism promoted by Ceauşescu revalued, for its own benefit, the symbols of the olden times. Horea carried on the memory of a national hero, whose struggle was now intertwined with the social one, for example, in David Prodan's professional historical research volumes or in Ştefan Pascu's inconsistent ideological popularization works.[16]

[14] Asztalos 2004, 532.
[15] Baboş 2007, 12–13.
[16] Prodan 1984; Pascu 1984.

The special preference shown to the Albac-born rioter by the communist historians from Cluj was also materialized in the urban memory of this city, through the *Bust of Horea,* located in Station Square (a creation of sculptor Romulus Ladea, 1964), as well as through the *Horea, Cloșca and Crișan Statuary Group*, erected in front of the Napoca Hotel in 1974 – one of the most imposing monuments built during the communist period (author: Ion Vlasiu).[17] They do not have the flashiness of the Funar era and are fairly decent artistic accomplishments.

The street leading from the station to the center also received the name of the great rioter and experienced all the ideological mutations reflected in various naming policies.[18] The old medieval street of the Bridge (*Híd utca*) was divided in the Austro-Hungarian period between the new Ferenc József Blvd., a tribute to the emperor, and Wesselényi Miklós St., after the name of a Transylvanian Hungarian nobleman with liberal views, related to the local history of Cluj. Naturally, the Romanian administration replaced the old emperor with the new king, the entire artery becoming King Ferdinand Ave. in 1923. The Hungarian administration proceeded similarly after 1940, calling it Horthy St., after the Hungarian regent's name. The Communists broke the chain of this series of royal or aristocratic figures, enthroning, in their place, two crownless kings: Horea, the Romanian rebel peasant (who thus maintained a subtle connection with the Romanian national goal), and Gheorghe Doja, the Szekler rebel 'peasant' (in fact a petty nobleman, who was nonetheless extolled as the leader of a peasant uprising). Both were envisaged joining hands in the class struggle, across the golden waters of the Someș river, as well as across national barriers.

Eventually, however, the aforementioned barriers were to prove more resilient than the Marxist ideology of proletarian internationalism had surmised. Between 1945 and 1957 the name of the Szekler rebel was spelled in Hungarian form, Dózsa György. The Hungarian anti-communist Revolution of 1956 gave the Romanian Communists the opportunity to tone down the appreciation given to their Hungarian comrades: between 1957 and 1964, Dózsa György St. turned into Dózsa Gheorghe St. (a bizarre blend of the Romanian and Hungarian spellings). In 1964, when national-communism came to prevail, the name of the street was changed to Gheorghe Doja, in a definitively Romanianized form that was to be used as such in dictionaries and history textbooks. Finally, after 1989, the effigy of Horea was maintained, Ladea's bust being placed at the end of the boulevard, now intersected by Cloșca, Crișan, and Câmpeni Streets (Albac, his native village, was to give the name of a street in the more marginal Gheorgheni District). By contrast, the Szekler rebel, who was no longer of any ideological use, was exiled to a street in Andrei Mureșanu District, running parallel to Ady Endre St. and perpendicular to the Mikszáth Kálmán St. In 1999, towards the end of the Funar era, King Ferdinand victoriously ousted Doja in the name of the street in downtown Cluj, not so much in his capacity as sovereign, but as the creator of 'Greater Romania,' since it was under his reign that the union of Transylvania with the motherland was achieved in 1918.

The 1918 Union obviously represents a peak point on the symbolic route from suffering to victory. As a result, it holds pride of place among the sites of memory in Cluj.

[17] Buta, Bodea, Edroiu 1989, 80, 85.

[18] See Gaal 2011, 260–263.

Its main function is to mark the Romanians' triumph and to celebrate their redemption, as a reward for sufferings they endured. In the symbolic competition between the Romanians and the Hungarians, 1918 is also meant to emphasize, even involuntarily, the former's revanche as well as the irreconcilable positions of the two entities: what is good for us is bad for the others, our heroes are the executioners of the others, our holidays are days of mourning for the others.

Mostly, albeit not exclusively, after 1989, the way in which the moment 1918 has been officially promoted has been perceived as offensive (if not downright aggressive) by the Hungarians, just as it has been rather ostentatiously cultivated by the Romanians. Of course, the union of Transylvania with Romania was also celebrated officially before 1989. However, there were other commemorative landmarks that vied for official attention, for instance, specifically communist feasts: the official day used to be 23 August, a reminder of the events that had made it possible for the new regime to be established in 1944. After 1989, national holidays, such as the new official day of 1 December, remained almost the sole memorial references, which made them stand out even more glaringly.

What was extremely important was the fact that the old communist holidays could, in principle, be replaced by commemorative symbols belonging to the pre-communist, interwar political regime, such as the royal insignia. In line with the idea that the communist period had been an unfortunate hiatus in Romania's past, it was now possible to return to 10 May, the Kingdom's Day, to the old royal anthem or to the coat of arms with monarchical insignia. Still, the political regime led by Ion Iliescu after 1989 contributed enormously to exacerbating the symbolic tensions between the Romanians and the Hungarians, as it foregrounded nationalistic disputes for sheer selfish political reasons. Iliescu feared the return of the king, an ally of the anti-communist opposition parties (who claimed legitimacy because they were descended from the traditions of the interwar regime), and tried to keep as much of the communist legacy as possible in the new conditions, much like Gorbachev. Skillfully and hypocritically, he gave up communist symbols (which is why he was considered a crypto-communist) and replaced them with national ones, the only ones that still enjoyed legitimacy. In their struggle to maintain power, former activists and security agents from the Ceaușescu era attuned Romania's symbolic dispositif to the nationalist project, rejected the old royal emblems and presented themselves as the sole defenders of national values, while their opponents from the pro-Western parties were considered traitors, who were on foreign payroll. This, in a way, was true, because the anti-communist opposition contextualized national symbolism in a broader framework, alongside other values, such as democracy, openness to Europe, tolerance and respect for minorities[19].

The new ways of representing and using the 1918 Union in the collective memory of Cluj were marked by this political and ideological context of the early 1990s, when the climate of the post-communist regime gained traction.

It may seem surprising that there are no spectacular monuments in Cluj dedicated to the Union of 1918. Only the Central Square, populated by King Matthias and Saint Michael's Church, received the generic name of this event (Piața Unirii, Union Square) by way of a symbolic compensation. The explanation relates to the fact that the city,

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[19] See Gallagher 1999.

being predominantly Hungarian at the time of the union, actually had a small historical contribution to that event, in terms of places, feats or personalities.[20] Naturally, the Triumphal Arch in Bucharest, the Mausoleum in Mărășești, the Coronation Cathedral and the Union Hall in Alba Iulia or the symbolic omnipresence of Vasile Goldiș in Arad mark the difference in relation to Cluj. Under these circumstances, the naming policy was largely used in Cluj. One need only think, for instance, of the house name plates mounted mainly during the Funar period, out of an intention to fill the public space with symbolic traces of the Union, even in the absence of more consistent evidence of that event.

It is very significant that the names related to the year 1918 tend to signpost and highlight the *entry* of Romania into the city. Although Romanian historical memory avoids the term 'conquest' when it comes to Transylvania, regarded as if it was already Romanian in 1918, the sites of memory in Cluj highlight the directions and ways in which the Romanians, the army, the generals or the rulers entered a city that obviously had to be conquered since it was not Romanian at that time.

Dorobanților Ave. and King Ferdinand Ave. are the two main arteries that have evoked, since the interwar era, the entry of the Romanian troops and rulers in the city. In that period there was a third avenue, Victoriei Ave., rebaptized, several years later, as Marshal Foch Ave.[21] During the communist period, this trend was continued with the names given to two of the city's major proletarian districts, Grigorescu and Mărăşti, and with that of General Dragalina St. These names were reminiscent of the most popular commanders (approved by official history) or the battles of 1916–1918. During the Funar period, the memory of the 1918 military personalities that had been neglected or even disavowed during the communist regime was resuscitated. An example was General Traian Moșoiu, whose name was related mainly to the 1919 campaign against the Hungarian Soviet Republic. That was why communist historiography considered him undesirable for a long time, until the peak of Ceausescu's nationalism. The names of Marshals Prezan and Averescu ennobled two bus stops in Mărăşti district (the former was later attached to a side street near the military cemetery), probably also because there were not many important arteries that allowed such associations. Averescu had also been viewed with sufficient restraint under the Communists, because he had been the Minister of War responsible for suppressing the 1907 peasant uprising. However, for the municipality of Cluj, all these generals were seen as the liberators of Transylvania in 1918. As such, their rehabilitation and entrenchment in the historical memory of the city was an obligation of honor for the Romanian nationalists.

However, these symbolic needs did not die out with the Funar era. In August 2019, one hundred years after the entry of the Romanian army in Budapest, the *Statue of General Mărdărescu* was unveiled in Cluj. In aesthetic terms, the monument was an honourable achievement: three meters high, it was the most imposing statue of a Romanian general erected thus far in the city. The inscription on its plinth made a deliberately neutral reference to his quality as commander of the Romanian troops in Transylvania in 1919, but as every newspaper reported, the significance of the unveiled statue was connected, first and foremost, to the fact that the general had occupied Budapest and had permitted

[20] However, there is a work that provides an overview of these contributions: Comșa, Glodariu, Jude 1998.

[21] Bulevardul 21 Decembrie 2010.

his soldiers to hang the Wallachian *opinca* [traditional shoe] on the frontispiece of the Hungarian Parliament, in a gesture of supreme historical revanche.[22] The statue was placed in a recently built area, devoid of any historical landmarks, in a deliberate effort to carry on the city's traditional historical memory, now displayed in front of the students, corporation employees or consumers who were heading to the mall.

The name plates mounted during the Funar period tried to highlight, wherever that was possible, the involvement of the local Romanians in the events of 1918. Such a plate marked the headquarters of the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania, led by Amos Frâncu and Emil Hațieganu, or the place where Octavian Petrovici, a young Romanian, died by shooting in an incident in December 1918. Even sites where nothing special had happened in 1918 were symbolically appropriated: for instance, the New York restaurant (later Continental), where, as the plate placed here by the City Hall informs us, writers 'from all Romanian provinces' met in the 1920s and founded the *Gândirea* magazine.[23] The famous Hungarian café (a Hungarian equivalent of the Bucharest Capșa) was also turned, according to the inscription carved in white marble, into a 'fruit of the ideals of the Great Union.'

The same mechanism of using the 1918 moment in order to claim symbolic dominion over the city is best illustrated by the University of Cluj, which has become a site of Romanian memory and whose visual emblem is the beautiful *Statuary Group of the Transylvanian School* (representing, of course, the three renowned Romanian scholars), created by Romulus Ladea in 1973.[24] Both the institution and the central building that houses it were built during the Austro-Hungarian regime, but they became 'Romanian' in 1919. After the union, the higher education institution was renamed the 'University of Dacia Superior' and officially received the name of the unifying king, the one whose bust, unveiled in 2005 alongside that of Queen Maria (in the presence of King Michael), guards today the monumental stairs of the building.[25]

Even though, starting with the administration of rector Andrei Marga (1993–2012), the multicultural character of 'Babeș-Bolyai' University and its century-old its roots (going back in history to 1581, when Transylvania was ruled by Hungarian princes) have been increasingly underscored,[26] this effort went hand in hand with a continuous emphasis on its Romanian history.[27] In 2019, 'Babeș-Bolyai' University celebrated, through numerous events, the one hundredth birthday of the 'Romanian university' that was inaugurated after the union in 1918.

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[22] Stoica, Popescu 2019.

[23] Jakab 2009, 12.

[24] Buta, Bodea, Edroiu 1989, 86.

[25] Subsequently, a bust of King Michael was unveiled at the University of Agricultural Sciences, for similar reasons: because 'he brought the university back to Cluj after the liberation of Northern Transylvania,' see Bust al regelui Mihai 2005.

[26] For example, the rectors' gallery, where only the effigies of Romanian professors who had led the Romanian university since 1919, was completed with the effigies of the five Hungarian rectors of the 'Bolyai' University, from the period 1945–1959. In this way, however, references to the rectors of the Austro-Hungarian University were avoided. On the other hand, the nearly 50 rectors of this university (with annual mandates), including a Romanian, would not have fit in that space. Still, the bust of a rector from the period of 'Ferenc József' University, mathematician Farkas Gyula, was placed in one of the corridors on the second floor.

[27] On the politics of memory at 'Babes-Bolyai' University, see Magyari–Vincze 1997, 231–256.

A secondary way of commemorating the moment 1918 was achieved by evoking the foreigners who interfered with it. The bust of US President *Woodrow Wilson* (unveiled in Cluj in 2002, by nationalist politicians Corneliu Vadim Tudor and Gheorge Funar)[28] may seem a paradoxical symbol, given that nationalism naturally foregrounds only the native element, at the expense of the foreign one. But the gesture of the two politicians can be explained. On the one hand, contemporary nationalists (faced with the ubiquity of liberal discourses) are extremely versatile, wanting to show that they too are tolerant, or that they are not irrational and xenophobic. On the other hand, allies like Wilson (the most popular example is General Berthelot) are 'nationalized' and integrated into the Romanian self-justifying discourse. Even if they are foreigners, they have the merit of having helped the Romanians and having understood that justice was on their side.

An important historical moment that also illustrates the Romanian sufferings, followed by liberation, is the Second World War. In the first decades of the communist period, the 'Soviet liberators' were foremost among those commemorated and there is a whole area dedicated to them in the Heroes' Cemetery in Cluj. After 1989, the monuments and names evoking their presence were almost completely eliminated. For example, the place of the Soviet tank behind the Orthodox Cathedral was taken, in 1996, by the statuary group *Glory to the Romanian Soldier*,[29] one of the least successful monuments of this kind, typical for the lack of artistic taste of the communist era, which eerily survived even after 1989. The Romanian military presences during the war are completed with the busts of the 4th Army commanders, Generals Gheorghe Avramescu and Nicolae Dăscălescu, erected in front of the unit headquarters, in Ștefan cel Mare Square.

In the last years of the Ceaușescu regime, nationalist party activists considered that the name of the Belvedere Hotel (derived, obviously, from its superb position on Citadel Hill) reminds one of Belvedere Palace in Vienna, where the decision was reached to cede Northern Transylvania in 1940. Because of that, it was renamed the Transilvania Hotel, but after many years of nationalist complexes, the old name was restored.[30]

Pan-Romanian Unity and Continuity

The historical memory fueled during the communist period was still more optimistic –and, evidently, less strikingly anti-Hungarian–compared to the upbeat nationalism cultivated in the interwar era or during the Funar period. As a result, less emphasis was laid on the national torments inflicted on the Romanians by the Hungarians and on the interpretation of the 1918 union as a case of redemption-through-suffering.

For communist nationalism it was much more important to emphasize the unity and continuity[31] of the always-already Romanian character of Romania, Transylvania and, implicitly, of Cluj, all melted into the national osmosis. In this way, a static – and more self-assured – view of the national past emerged. The Romanians had always been Romanians, like the ones today, since the times of the Dacians and the Romans. They had always had glorious princes, great achievements and great scholars. The nationalities had

[28] Vadim Tudor [Facebook post] (7 Sept. 2014).
[29] Monumentul Glorie Ostașului 2017.
[30] Lukács 2005, 101.
[31] Boia 2017, 220–291.

not posed such big problems, and the Romanians had preferred to share this space, their ancestral hearth, with them rather than fight for survival. The only serious challenges had come from the oppressive neighboring empires, which the Romanians had nonetheless resisted successfully.[32] This triumphant vision obviously had an ideological motivation: it was supposed to support the bright present of socialism, the sustainability of the communist regime and the legitimacy of Ceaușescu's dictatorship. Romania's history was also mobilized, 'closely united around the beloved ruler,' so that the regime could resist any real or imagined enemy, for example, the Soviets, the only ones who could have laid any claims to power, considering that police repression and ideological domination had suppressed any form of domestic resistance. From Burebista to Ceaușescu, our national being had largely remained the same.

This extremely powerful image from the communist period is reflected in the historical memory of Cluj, first of all through the monuments and names that have survived from the above-mentioned period to this day. Romanian historical memory was deeply marked by the textbooks of the communist era or by the films of Sergiu Nicolaescu, whose vision is further propagated by numerous, more or less influential, professional and amateur historians today.

If we review the toponymy of the streets in Cluj, we may notice that almost no name that is part of the repertoire of the national historical vulgate is missing, even though it has no significant connection with local or Transylvanian history: Burebista, Decebal, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, Matei Basarab, Vasile Lupu, Constantin Brâncoveanu, Tudor Vladimirescu, Ana Ipătescu, C. A. Rosetti, Cuza, Kogălniceanu, Titulescu and so many others, to whom all important writers are added, from Antim Ivireanu to Nichita Stănescu. Most examples come from the Ceaușescu era, but this process of pan-Romanian toponymic invasion continued unhindered both during the Funar era and in recent years, when the name of Romanian celebrities, less frequented until then, such as Noica, Ionesco or Mircea Eliade, were given to side streets lacking sidewalks and were often unpaved, in the new districts hastily erected on the outskirts of the city.

The most important monument illustrating this theme in Cluj is represented by the *Equestrian Statue of Michael the Brave,* built in 1976 in the square bearing the same name.[33] After 1989, General Ion Coman, one of Ceaușescu's leading activists, reminisced about this moment:

> Beyond the fact that it brought a surplus of Romanian history, a working hypothesis, so to speak, was that Michael the Brave would neutralize Matthias Corvinus, as it were, in terms of their images... That it would serve as the counterpart to Corvinus, who is historically– not only spiritually – identified with the Hungarian community rather than with the Romanians, although, as is known, his father was Romanian. But the problem is that although it is massive, full of force and convincing, the statue of Michael the Brave is not properly valorized because of the square which, given the

[32] See Mușat, Ardeleanu 1983–1988 and Pascu 1983, who approach the Union of 1918 by highlighting its Dacian antecedents. Writing about the union of 1918, they feel the need to embark on an overview of the entire history of Romania.

[33] Buta, Bodea, Edroiu 1989, 83–84.

apartment buildings that were erected there, nearby, suffocates it. Therefore, it only 'cuts off' Matthias Corvinus to a small extent.[34]

Beyond the competition with Matthias Corvinus and his feeble historical relationship with Cluj, Michael the Brave was the most eloquent emblem of Romanian unity, stronger, in a way, than the 1918 Union (which simply 'confirmed' what had always existed), because it embodied it in a palpable and uplifting symbol, translated across a history of several centuries. For the people of Cluj, as well as for the Transylvanian Romanians, the most beloved hero had to be Avram Iancu, erected on a pedestal by Gheorghe Funar. But because they were Romanians, Michael simply had to be their favorite hero. The ideological theme of unity, obsessively underlined by Communist propaganda, invited them to focus on the pan-Romanian dimension of their identity.

As General Coman noted, for various reasons, Michael's statue could not dethrone Matthias as one of the top symbols of Cluj. However, it ambitiously competed with Fadrusz János's creation, through its impressive pose, its size and the complexity of its ideological messages. The bas-reliefs placed on the base of the statue tell the story of the union of the 'three Romanian principalities.' Significantly, the one dedicated to Transylvania includes Hungarians, who, along with Orthodox priests and other Romanians, agree to obey the scepter of pan-Romanian unity. A Catholic prelate tilts his head (the only one in this humble position, on the whole bas-relief), along with several mustachioed soldiers, who also present their homage, albeit in more dignified attitudes. However, communist propaganda offered a place to Hungarians, besides Romanians, under the aegis of national unity. In the Funar era this would have been more difficult to conceive.[35]

Due to such ideological qualities, specific to the communist era, as well as to the generous space, the square in front of the statue became the place where huge rallies of the 'working people' were held whenever Ceaușescu visited Cluj.

Besides the statue of Mihai, Cluj also houses that of his captain, *Baba Novac*, impaled (after being burned at the stake, in the Central Square) near the Tailors' Bastion.[36] Although this episode, lost in the mist of time, was not preserved at all in the subsequent memory of the city, given the location of the statue on the supposed site of the captain's ordeal, near the medieval wall, the erection of his statue in 1975 was not uninspired.[37] It was one of the rare occasions when the ideological needs of the policies of remembrance happily converged with the commemoration of an authentic and meaningful historical event that took place on that very site.

Stephen the Great is present in Cluj through the church in Feleac, which the voivode allegedly founded,[38] through an important square that bears his name, but also through his participation in the carousel of the plates meant to remind Matthias, the king glorified by

[34] Quoted in Gîju 2010.

[35] A similar situation can be found in Arlington Cemetery: the bas-relief of the memorial monument dedicated to Confederate soldiers also features a loyal, uniformed black servant who defends, alongside his masters, his home, under threat from the Northern invaders. In this case, the Hungarians were the 'blacks' of the Romanian historical imaginary.

[36] Buta, Bodea, Edroiu 1989, 84. See also Sălăgean 2010, 49–52.

[37] Like monuments evoking Joan of Arc's ordeal in Rouen.

[38] A harsh critique of this historiographic hypothesis appears in Rusu 2005, 91–122.

his Hungarian countrymen, what his true origins are. In 1932, at the initiative of Nicolae Iorga, a plate was placed on the base of the statue with the following inscription: 'A victor in wars, defeated only in Baia by his own nation, when he tried to defeat undefeated Moldova.'[39] In 1940, the Hungarian authorities removed it, Mayor Funar installed it again in 1992, and in 2011, when the monument was restored, the Boc administration, constrained to a Solomonic solution in order to protect all sensibilities, relocated the plate in a less visible place, framed by a text that rather clumsily evokes the history of the troublesome inscriptions. In this way, the roughness of the revanchist text was mitigated, while preserving the plate at the same time. The argument, difficult to dispute, was that the story of the plates had also become part of the monument's history. On the frontispiece of the statue, however, the Latin formula *Matthias Rex* was restored: it was an ethnically neutral, therefore acceptable reference for both the Romanians and the Hungarians.[40]

Although erected at the end of the Funar period, *Cuza*'s bust is a discreet one, devoid of ostentation, but is located in a key position, flanked by the street bearing the name of the voivode, across the street from the prefecture and looking towards Avram Iancu Square. Although it has no direct connection to Cluj or Transylvania, the Union of 1859 is marked in Cluj, especially on 24 January, as an essential commemorative element of Romanian unity. Significantly, on 1 December, the *Hora of the Union* is sung and danced every year, in what is actually the most engaging moment of the ceremony. In this way, 24 January and 1 December are linked in a symbolic continuum, perfectly illustrating the theme of pan-Romanian unity and continuity, interlaced with Transylvanian localism.

But the deepest element that supports pan-Romanian unity and continuity is the assumption of the Romanians' *Daco-Roman heritage*. As always, the myths of origins are the most important for defining the identity of a community. Clearly, in this case, at least, the Daco-Roman heritage is what is called an 'invented tradition,'[41] because the city of Cluj was founded in the Middle Ages, and there is no historical continuity or concrete link between it and the ancient Roman settlement. Cluj is not Rome, nor even *Londinium* or *Lutetia Parisiorum*, which at least gave their name to the medieval cities that succeeded them. As for the Dacians, archaeologists know that the entire perimeter of Cluj is almost completely devoid of traces of Dacian habitation.[42] Of course, these verifiable data do not matter for historical memory. There are some buried ruins of a city dating back to Roman times, but nothing has survived on the surface, and only one name is derived from the Dacians: *Napoca*. But it was enough for the ancient Roman municipality to no longer be considered a simple predecessor of the present city. In Romanian historical memory, the two settlements separated by a millennium are completely overlapped, through the coat of arms, the name and the municipal rank. Professor Ioan-Aurel Pop, former rector of the University of Cluj and president of the Romanian Academy gave a speech when the statue of Andrei Mureșanu was unveiled in December 2019, in which he referred to 'this city that

[39] Jakab 2009, 14.

[40] However far-fetched these tribulations may seem, Matthias had an acceptable treatment compared to the situation in the United States, where several imposing statues of Southern generals have been removed over the past few years.

[41] According to the concept launched in Hobsbawm, Ranger (eds.) 1983.

[42] See Crișan 1992.

is almost two millennia old, dating from the time of the Romans.'[43] The symbolic definition of the city is clear: Cluj-Napoca, a two-thousand-year-old Romanian city.

The name of the city, changed by the communist authorities in 1974,[44] represents the main symbolic element that emphasizes the Daco-Roman heritage and, implicitly, its Romanian continuity, together with the new municipal coat of arms (dating back to 1999), which joins, in a pseudo-heraldic manner, the monument of the Memorandists, a statue of Minerva and a Dacian wolf. To this is added the statue of the *Lupa Capitolina* ('She-Wolf'), given to Cluj by the Italian state in 1921 (placed in front of the statue of Matthias Corvinus until 1940),[45] as well as the Roman vestiges that Mayor Funar unsuccessfully tried to highlight during the years he was in office: a life-size replica of Trajan's Column, erected in front of Matthew Corvinus and St. Michael's Church, would have applied the coup de grace in the conflict with the Hungarian past of the city.

Anti-communism

The fall of communism was an ambiguous process that was difficult to manage in traditional Romanian historical memory – which prevailed for a long time in Cluj – for two important reasons. Firstly, from a political standpoint, the majority of those who endorsed Funar's nationalism were former communists who tried to stay in power or, initially, even to preserve what they could from the former regime. Secondly, the national-communism of the Ceaușescu era had largely promoted precisely the kind of historical memory dear to the nationalists. From this point of view, at least, they had little to reproach him.

On the other hand, despite the nostalgia for the old regime, such ideological positions were no longer sustainable because it was clear to everyone that by 1989 communism had been permanently compromised, and Romania had to turn in a different direction. Under these circumstances, the nationalists – the Communists of yesteryear – turned into anti-communists, trying to accommodate to the new rhetoric.

For the nationalists, the main gain brought by the fall of communism was that they could manifest themselves unhindered in the new climate of freedom, no longer taking into account the previous obstructions which had censored their overly enthusiastic gestures. Communism was thus presented as a barrier to nationalism (although this had been condoned and encouraged in the Ceaușescu period), so the nationalists joined the ranks of those who celebrated the fall of communism and denounced its horrors. In reality, nationalists engaged in a complicated relationship of continuity–discontinuity in relation to the communist regime. Overtly, they detested and condemned it; on a more discreet level, however, communist nationalism had disseminated along countless underground channels.

The rejection of communism also led to risky commemorative practices, such as the cult dedicated to Marshal Antonescu (Hitler's ally), the one who fought the Russians for the liberation of Bessarabia. In 1999, Mayor Funar gave his name to the main artery

[43] Știri de Cluj December 2019.

[44] See a detailed analysis of this issue in Györke 2017, 51–58. Besides the Romanian Drobeta-Turnu Severin, the most significant analogues for this toponymic transformation are the cities of the former colonial world (Bombay – Mumbai, Léopoldville – Kinshasa, etc.).

[45] Statuia Lupa Capitolina 2017.

in his electoral fiefdom, Mănăștur District, and it took the adoption of antinegationist legislation and international pressures for such symbols to disappear. Still, even in 2018, *Cenaclul Flacăra* ['The Flame Literary Circle'], resuscitated by Andrei Păunescu, the son of its founder, ended his show in Cluj in an enthusiastic atmosphere, with a song whose text evoked the former ally of the Nazis.[46]

The complicated relationship between fascism, anti-Semitism, nationalism and anti-communism caused trouble to Mayor Emil Boc in 2017. The central state institutions urged him to change the name of Radu Gyr St., on the grounds that the public display of the name of the Legionary poet (author of the most popular hymns of the Iron Guard) violated the legislation prohibiting the use of fascist symbols. However, the mayor received 6,000 protest messages from those who believed that the poet, held captive in communist dungeons for years, was primarily a symbol of the anti-communist struggle. As a result, he gave up changing the name of the street. No matter who was right (if anyone can be right in such a dispute), the irony of history was that Radu Gyr St. was an obscure, unpaved alley with just a few houses at that time, on the city outskirts.[47]

The most important anti-communist element in the historical memory of the city is the *sacrifice of the Cluj people who died in December 1989*, having been shot in the streets by the repression forces. For a long time, the commemoration of this event was radically different from the other forms of historical memory, primarily due to its recent character. While all the other celebrated episodes were shrouded in the aura of a conventionally heroized past, as symbolic transpositions of a history textbook, 1989 was perceived as a living, authentic event. It was, at the same time, the moment of a break with an ideologically counterfeit past. People laid down wreaths, during official festivities, in places where their fellow countrymen had sacrificed themselves, just like they did on the steps of other monuments, but simple passers-by also placed bouquets of flowers or lighted candles at such commemorative sites. But it is precisely thanks to this auroral freshness that the martyr of December never competed on the same ground with the canonized and verified heroes of the national historical vulgate. After all, the young men shot in 1989 had risen against a regime that had stayed in power (also) by manipulating historical memory.

The main site of memory evoking the victims of 1989 is the so-called *Shot Pillars* (uncovered in 2003),[48] located in the old city square, this time not in order to compete with older urban symbols, but simply because this was the actual place where the victims were shot. Significantly, precisely because it was something else, compared to the traditional ways of historical commemoration, this was one of the rare occasions in which instead of the usual classical and realistic monuments, such as pedestals, busts or mounted horsemen, a modern, non-figurative representation was located directly on the sidewalk, vexing, perhaps, the artistic taste of some of the Cluj inhabitants. In the other places where people were shot at on 21 December plates with the names of the fallen victims were placed.[49]

[46] Student Culture Centre, 25 April 2018. The poem, *Doamne, ocrotește-i pe români!* ['Lord, protect the Romanians!'] is in Păunescu 2003, 846.

[47] Felseghi 2017.

[48] Monumentul revoluționarilor 2016.

[49] Jakab 2009, 10.

One of the arteries on which the demonstrators marched (previously called Lenin Blvd., therefore suitable for modifications) received the name 22 December 1989, subsequently changed to 21 December.[50] The change had a major ideological significance, since 22 December evoked the moment when people went out into the streets *after* Ceaușescu's fall (and when Ion Iliescu's new regime was established in Bucharest), while only the bravest, bare-chested, had protested on 21 December, while communism was still in power. The latter, the genuine anti-communists, disavowed the Iliescu government, which they considered a disguised continuation of the Ceaușescu regime.

In 2019, on the anniversary of three decades since the anti-communist uprising in Cluj, small stickers appeared in the city with the text: 'Heroes never die/Better dead than communist.' The formula emphasized, on the one hand, the process of historicizing events that were already quite distant in time (by assimilating the victims of 1989 with the heroes of all time). The second part, however, evoked the anti-communist folklore of the 1990s (*The Hooligans' Hymn*, by Cristian Pațurcă), highlighting the present relevance of the message of those years, transposed in the context of contemporary political disputes.

Communist repression and resistance against it, non-existent subjects in the official historiography prior to 1989, gradually entered mass historical culture after that date. The public cult dedicated to them evokes of the suffering endured in communist prisons and the moral reparation due to those who died for freedom. The main purpose of the Anti-communist Resistance Monument, an imposing ensemble, built in 2006 at the entrance to the city's Central Park, is to evoke the Romanian carceral universe.[51]

A special example of how anti-communism is evoked in the historical memory of Cluj is the plate placed on the former Avram Iancu student dormitory (today the Faculty of Law), in the Funar era.[52] The inscription harks back the incidents that took place here in May 1946, when Romanian students who did not adhere to communist ideas (among them was the future Orthodox Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania) were attacked by 'provocative armed groups,' respectively by Hungarian workers and students, instigated by local authorities. Political conflicts between the recently established communist regime and the anti-communist public opinion took the form of an ethnic dispute in Cluj, because many Romanians – some who had peasant roots, others who were intellectuals with right-wing nationalist beliefs – were opposed to the new regime, while the Hungarian workers, who formed the majority in the industrial areas of the city, could be mobilized more easily by communist propaganda. It was at this time that the Romanians in Mănăștur District launched the famous watchword, imprinted in historical memory: 'Democracy thus far, Mănăștur from here on!' – where 'democracy' designated the communist regime of 'popular democracy.'[53]

This version, in which the Communists were identified with the Hungarians (supported by the Soviet occupants and other foreigners), represented, of course, a variant of anti-communism perfectly desirable for the Romanian nationalists during the Funar period.

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[50] Nomenclatorul stradal 2019.
[51] Monumentul Rezistenței Anticomuniste 2016.
[52] Jakab 2009, 13.
[53] Belkis, Coman, Sîrbu, Troc 2003.

The Romanian need for revenge, felt so strongly after 1989, can also be explained by the fact that a series of Hungarian symbols were maintained during the first two decades of communist administration in the city: dating back to the dualist period, they had been removed by Romanian administration after 1919 and restored by the Hungarian one in 1940. According to this logic of *cujus regio, ejus memoria*, they would have had to be removed again after 1945, when the Romanian administration returned to Cluj, especially since the Horthyist occupants were stigmatized now with the infamous label of 'Fascists.' But the Romanians were astounded to realize that under the guise of proletarian internationalism the Hungarians had managed to save some of the Hungarian historical memory of the city – obviously those portions that were acceptable to communist ideology. For example, the old Hungarian alley (*Magyar utca*), baptized Kossuth Lajos in 1899 (a Hungarian symbol of utmost prominence), became Calea Victoriei ['Victory Ave.'] after 1919 and then Calea Mareșal Foch ['Marshal Foch Ave.'], after the name of the great French ally. In 1940, the Hungarian administration returned to Kossuth's name, but it was not removed after 1945. On the grounds that Kossuth was a revolutionary and progressive leader, the street continued to bear his name, much to the frustration of the Romanians. In 1964, after Romanian communism embraced a national agenda and Kossuth became more and more inconvenient because he had been an opponent of the Transylvanian Romanians in 1848 (a year later, in 1965, the monograph *Avram Iancu* authored by the historian Silviu Dragomir was published and reused by the communists), the name of the great Hungarian was finally relinquished. Still, lest it should be suspected of nationalism (in the hypocritical climate that was typical for communist propaganda), the city of Cluj did not return to the Romanian interwar symbols, but resorted to one that could no longer be challenged by anyone: the great Lenin.[54]

Under these circumstances, the overlapping of communism with the Hungarian enemy provided an additional reason for legitimizing the policies of restoring Romanian Cluj after 1989.

In conclusion, it should be noted that although the prevalent ideological target of those who built the historical memory of Cluj was the national one, other types of messages could be used in various historical epochs. During the communist period, the city was symbolically re-founded from the perspective of the new Marxist ideology, even though the nationalist messages, initially side-lined or even disputed in the early years of the new regime, emerged again, powerfully, after a relatively short period of proletarian internationalism.[55] In recent years, new attempts have been made to balance and tone down glaring nationalist overtones, as well as to promote different other types of ideologies (anti-communism, multiculturalism, the cult of European values) through the sites of memory. Starting from this, one can note a more recent trend of de-nationalizing the public space, fostered by the cosmopolitan, tolerant and hedonistic spirit of the consumer society, a trend that is still contested by the old nationalist traditions, carried on and reinterpreted in the new context of the postmodern world.

[54] Denumirea străzilor 2009. In fact, Communist propagandists killed two birds with one stone, because besides Kossuth St., they also sacrificed Armata Roșie St. (which continued it). Lenin's name was the most convenient cover for this miniature nationalist revolt, which was simultaneously anti-Hungarian and anti-Soviet.

[55] See a classic work on this topic see Verdery 1991.

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ARTICLES AND STUDIES: VARIA

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INVESTIGATING A MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND CEMETERY (VĂLENI–PAPDOMB, HARGHITA COUNTY)

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Abstract: An outstanding opportunity for the investigation of the ruined medieval church emerged through the cooperation between the Haáz Rezső Museum and the Canadian company ArchaeoTek, who backed the archaeological excavation in support of academic training. As a result, anthropology students take part in the excavation, after which they analyze and interpret the discovered bones. During six seasons of work we finished the excavation of the entire church, and also we documented 661 graves.

Excavation and analysis at the Papdomb site follow American bioarchaeological methods and interpretive strategies. Over the last forty years, bioarchaeology has developed into a sophisticated and collaborative enterprise that draws from a range of people and skillsets to answer social questions using biological data. Areas of expertise and analysis being applied at the Papdomb site include: skeletal excavation methods; the development of biological profiles; radiocarbon dating; diet analysis through isotope testing; and, sex and biological relationship investigation through ancient DNA. The overarching goal in using the bioarchaeological approach is to add valuable insight and complement what historians and other experts of Szekler history already know. Furthermore, work at the Papdomb site stands out for its international and multi-scalar collaborative approach. An international team of experts works with the descendant community to preserve and study the site and the human remains. Finally, the excavation and materials produced are a valuable teaching tool for aspiring bioarchaeologists and forensic anthropologists because human remains excavation and large human skeletal collections are not common in the United States or are not available for training.

Keywords: medieval cemetery, bioarchaeology, anthropology, church, archaeological excavation

Rezumat: O oportunitate excelentă pentru cercetarea bisericii ruinate s-a realizat prin cooperarea dintre Muzeul Haáz Rezső și compania canadiană ArchaeoTek care a sprijinit cercetarea arheologică cu scopul pregătirii academice a studenților. Ca urmare, studenții în antropologie au participat la săpături, după care au analizat și interpretat materialul osteologic descoperit. În timpul celor șase campanii de săpătură colectivul a finalizat cercetarea întregii biserici și a documentat 661 de morminte.

Săpătura arheologică și analiza desfășurate în cadrul sitului din punctul Papdomb au urmat metodele cercetării bioarheologice și strategiile interpretative americane. În ultimii patruzeci de ani, bioarheologia s-a dezvoltat ca o abordare sofisticată, bazată pe colaborare, care implică resurse umane ample și seturi de competențe specifice pentru a răspunde la întrebări de natură socială

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folosind date biologice. Domeniile de expertiză și analiză aplicate în cazul sitului Papdomb includ: metode de excavare a scheletului; dezvoltarea profilelor biologice; datarea cu radiocarbon; analiza dietei prin testarea izotopilor; investigația prin analize ADN a sexului și biologia indivizilor. Scopul general al utilizării abordării bioarheologice este de a adăuga informații valoroase și de a completa aspecte deja cunoscute de către istorici și alți experți în istoria secuilor. Mai mult, munca referitoare la situl Papdomb se remarcă prin abordarea sa internațională și cu multiple paliere de colaborare. O echipă internațională de experți cooperează cu comunitatea locală actuală(descendentă a celei medievale) pentru a conserva și studia situl și rămășițele umane. În cele din urmă, săpătura și materialele furnizate de către aceasta sunt un instrument didactic valoros pentru bioarheologii și antropologii medico-legali în devenire, deoarece excavarea rămășițelor umane și colecțiile mari de material osteologic uman nu sunt frecvente în Statele Unite sau nu sunt disponibile pentru pregătirea academică.

Cuvinte cheie: cimitir medieval, bioarheologie, antropologie, biserică, săpătură arheologică

Introduction: The Papdomb Site

The historical Seat of Odorhei, in the eastern half of Transylvania, contains numerous poorly understood historic areas; however, several church restorations and archaeological surveys have been conducted in recent decades and have contributed to what is known about this understudied region. These investigations have provided an opportunity to further examine village churches and their associated grounds in the form of excavation and analysis. Research into the churches has provided information on the layout and features of the church, many new building elements, and ultimately allowed researchers to place the history of the church within the context of its associated settlement history.

One of the most enlightening and exciting outcomes of these ongoing investigations has been the collection of data associated with the original founding of village settlements.[1] Information collected via the excavation of village churches and their associated cemeteries, has further enriched historical data with valuable new bioarchaeological information. For example, the recovery of the oldest burials and their accompanying artifacts has lent important insight into the beginnings of a village settlement though archaeological and inter-disciplinary, scientific analysis such as skeletal, isotope, and DNA analysis. These methods are best used when conducted over large, archaeological areas that have been comprehensively excavated. The case study described here presents novel information about an on-going collaborative project which combines analysis of historical sources, archaeological excavations, and bioarchaeological methods.

The *Papdomb* (toponym signifying 'The Priest's hill') archaeological site denotes a primarily medieval church and its associated cemetery. The location of the church and its cemetery is in one of the secondary valleys of the Târnava Mare river, in one of the settlements that make up Feliceni Commune, called Văleni (HU: Patakfalva) (Fig. 1). The first written account of Văleni dates to 1333, when it is mentioned as *villa Potok*,[2] however, in 1334, the name *Sanctus Laurentius*[3] appears, which also happens to be the village's patron saint. In both cases, Lukács, the village priest, paid two Banski denars as tax.

[1] Nyárádi 2018.
[2] Fejérpataky 1887, 115.
[3] Fejérpataky 1887, 133.

The village was inhabited relatively early on by a landowner family, which later on also acquired nobility status. Szilveszter, one of the members of the family in Văleni, was mentioned in 1487. He had been murdered and a court decision was made in favor of his brother, Péter.[4] In 1505, Péter, Kelemen, and Lukács Patakfalvi, were among the elected judges at a meeting held in Odorhei.[5] One of the branches of the family later resettled in Atid, while another one resettled in Beclean, only to die out soon after.[6]

The name of a *primipilus* was mentioned in Văleni in 1566.[7] The census of free *portas* has the village marked with 17 such free *portas*.[8] In 1576, there were 16 serf *portas* in Văleni, most of them belonging to the Prince.[9] The sources on the village, dating back to the principality, mentioned the Ferenczi family, who later became the main patrons of the church.

During the Middle Ages, Văleni, Teleac, and Alexandrița formed one parish, which had a church built on the border of Văleni, serving all three villages. After the Reformation the inhabitants of the villages turned to Calvinism, preserving their prior form of organization. The village of Alexandrița was the first to become independent in 1667.[10] Teleac became independent relatively late, in 1760, when church lands and properties were split between the two villages.[11]

Historical documentation of the Văleni church indicates that it suffered severe damage during the 1661 retaliatory campaign, when the Turkish and Tatar troops looted and burned the church.[12] Evidence of this destruction was further supported when we identified traces of burned wood beams during our archaeological excavations inside the church. Next, the church was pillaged in the 1690s by the troops of Imre Thököly. The damage and lost liturgical objects were paid by István Ferenczi.[13] In 1762, the congregation purchased a new bell from Mihály Lakatos, from Arcuş, Háromszék. The price of the small 103-pound bell was 90 Hungarian Forints.[14] The medieval church then remained in good condition, as the 1780 church inspection did not note any inadequacies.[15]

Despite the adequate status of the church, the congregation considered relocating their church from the village border to the village center. The start of the construction work was hastened by the strong earthquake of 1802[16] which damaged the church in Văleni. It was decided that the church would not be repaired, and it was demolished in 1804; some of the materials were transported to the new church location.[17] Construction of the new church was finished in 1816.

[4] Szabó 1872, 265.
[5] Barabás 1934, 220.
[6] Pálmay 1900, 187.
[7] Szabó 1876, 198.
[8] Szabó 1876, 219, 220.
[9] Demény 1997, 42.
[10] UREL, Liber Eccl. 1644, 47.
[11] UREL, package 22, doc. 21.
[12] UREL, Liber Eccl. 1644, 34.
[13] UREL, Liber Eccl. 1644, 116.
[14] PREkL no. 2014, doc. 11.
[15] UREL, Prot. eccl. ref. 1779, 1780 entries.
[16] Koch 1880, 110–111.
[17] Orbán 1868, 159.

Several architectural elements of the demolished medieval church were relocated and reused in the new church: one of the door frames can be found at the southwestern entrance; another one is found at the tower standing on the church's northern side; and, a third stone frame can be found at the interior doorway, inside the church.[18] The southern side of the church, up to half a meter from the footing, is built out of carved ashlar. Similar stones were found in the location of the demolished church and later used as headstones. Earlier gothic brick ribs are also known from this area. Ecumenical objects belonging to the earlier church only include a single 16.5 cm tall, late gothic, sixteen-century cup, which had Renaissance engravings decorating its smooth surface.[19]

Although the original church was demolished in 1804, it still showed up on the first military survey, on the hilltop found southeast, further away from the village (Fig. 2). The second military map showed the church in its current location. The hill occupied by the earlier church became the village cemetery, which is still being used today.

Archaeological research (2014–2019)

Finding the location of the medieval church did not pose any particular challenges. The location was well known, and it is still church property, serving as the village cemetery (Fig. 3). In spring 2007, we sought the exact location of the church structures together with archaeologist András Sófalvi. The traces of the earlier eastern and northern cemetery walls were clearly distinguishable from the eastern edge of the cemetery. There were only a few burials in this portion of the modern cemetery because contemporary interment was obstructed by the massive stone walls of the ruined medieval church. A large mound on the northern side of the oval wall marked the location of the old tower. The excavated walls could also be distinguished quite well in the cleared interior of the cemetery (Fig. 4).

In 2009, we conducted a detailed topographical survey of the area marking the detectable wall segments, while also creating the three-dimensional model of the church hill.

We began excavations in 2014, continuing up until summer 2019. We conducted the investigation on a large surface, using 5×5 m excavation trenches, uncovering the entire surface of the medieval church. As of 2019, 33 trenches (825 square meters) comprising the landscape within the church, the church yard, and outside the church yard, had been excavated. Traces of 661 burials, including skeletons in the interior of the church cemetery, had been identified. All this combined makes our site the most well investigated medieval cemetery in the Székely Land (Fig. 5).

The past six years of excavation have been quite exciting, revealing unexpected results, which allowed us to date the cemetery to the early tenth century with radiocarbon analysis, one early date was derived from a human burial and another from a horse interred in the earliest horizon of the cemetery. Evidence of twelve-century use of the cemetery was seen in an area with a significant quantity of pottery fragments, coins, ball-end hairpins, and lock rings dating from the eleventh until the twelfth century.[20]We also have recovered numerous artefacts from the later periods: silver coins, rings, belt buckles, buttons, clothing clips, and other ornaments, iron spurs, and coronets (Fig. 6).

[18] Dávid 1981, 239.
[19] UREL, Liber Eccl. 1644, 117.
[20] Nyárádi, Gáll 2015, 85–120.

At the current stage of the investigation, we may conclude that the church had several construction phases, which we have reconstructed in the following way:

Phase I

The vicinity of the church and its original layers yielded a larger quantity of early pottery fragments, which were found scattered in secondary positions. These were decorated with spaced and undulating lines, as well as nail indentations. Several graves were found disturbed by the right-angled sanctuary, indicating the presence of an earlier horizon. During the 2015 excavations, explorations of the nave revealed additional burials, several of which had been disturbed by the construction of the wall, again, indicating an earlier horizon and, thus, an earlier graveyard. Some burials also contained objects, such as hairpins, that further supported an interpretation of early occupation. Along with several hair rings with S-shaped endings, we also found the fragments of eleven or twelve hair pins with bulbed endings and an anonymous dinar (Gr–139) from the twelfth century. Another grave, cut across by the northern wall of the nave, yielded a coin dating to the end of the twelfth century, and a belt buckle. During the excavation we were not able to identify any traces of an earlier stone building; however, we did notice a large stone block, measuring about 1.4×1 m and 50–60 cm in thickness, placed on top of another large stone, inside the church nave. Aligned with it, at a similar depth, we found an unfinished milling stone measuring 0.7×1 m, which probably cracked while it was being carved out. The two stones suggest the foundation of a 4–4.5 m long wooden building (Fig. 7). No graves stretched underneath these. The large stone, weighing almost one ton, could not be removed to create space for burials thereby leaving in place the evidence for the earlier wooden church. In 2016, inside trench 13, we partially uncovered the dislocated southeastern cornerstone. The southwestern cornerstone was most probably removed when the foundation of the tower was built. The three cornerstones could mark the corners of the small sanctuary. As a result of the excavation, we have documented evidence of the first village church, containing a 4.5×5 m nave, supposedly with straight corners.[21]

Phase II

The first stone church was built sometime during the end of the thirteenth century its sanctuary had straight corners with buttresses. The nave extended outward about half a meter from the sanctuary. Its length was 10.2 m, its width 5 m, while the sanctuary was 3.9 m wide and 6.3 m long as measured from the arch (Fig. 8). As such, the interior of the Romanesque church measured 16.5 m in length. The walls were covered in good quality white plaster, made with rough sand, containing pebbles, and a lot of lime. The walls, reaching almost one meter in thickness at their base, were built using mostly round river stones. Initially, burials were placed predominantly outside the church. Inside the church, we managed to identify one of the earliest graves near the arch. Grave 164 was found in Trench 6 and had a silver dinar minted in 1383–1385between the fingers of the hand; a date earlier than other graves inside the nave, most of which dated to the fifteenth century. The filling of the graves yielded coins minted under Sigismund and Louis the Great. None of the burials had coffins (Fig. 9). The floor of the nave was most likely covered with bricks as supported by the fact that the filling of several graves contained 13×25×3.5 cm

[21] Nyárádi 2016, 500.

or 12.5×25.5×3.5 cm floor bricks, showing signs of wear on one side. In the southeastern corner of trench 7, we were also able to observe an original section of this floor.

The church in the fourteenth century was most likely surrounded by a ditch, Object 5. It was located outside the gothic cemetery wall and away from the church. We found it in 2014, inside trench 5, and observed it predominantly in the cross section of the excavation trench. It was V-shaped on the northern side and rounded on the southern. Its width was 2.2–2.4 m, and its depth 0.8–0.9 m. Its filling was packed, clayey, and slightly mixed. The top layer of the ditch presented debris made up of chunks of mortar, rocks, and fresco fragments, which suggested that it had been filled in during the demolition of the sanctuary. One section of this ditch was excavated on the northern side in 2017, and inside trench 15.

Phase III

During this stage, the church was decorated with poor quality frescos. The small, faded, yellow, brown, and reddish, fragments recovered from the filling of the graves in the foundation of the gothic sanctuary, as well as from the ditch surrounding the church, did not allow for a more exact analysis. However, it is likely that these displayed depictions of biblical characters.

During this stage a small vestry was built on the northern side of the sanctuary, with a surface area of 4.2×3 m, using poorer quality yellowish mortar, and less lime than the previous construction phases. We presume this was built sometime during the first half of the fifteenth century. We were able to observe the packed clay floor of the vestry in two separate layers, separated by black soil. The layer of clay was 8×10 cm thick. During this same period, a corner buttress was fitted into both the southwestern and the northwestern corners of the earlier nave. Their plastering was similar to that of the vestry. Later, in this phase, an ossuary with a stone foundation was built on its western side. We began the documentation of the ossuary in 2017.

Phase IV

The sanctuary with straight corners was demolished at some point during the end of the fifteenth century, and rebuilt in a multi-angular shape, with buttresses, while also extending toward the east, and disturbing several graves (Fig. 10). The walls were constructed using poorer quality mortar than in the previous phases. Chunks of conglomerate were used for the walls, especially for the lower parts of the foundation. On the southern side, the buttresses were initially too short but were later extended.

An altar foundation made up of two rows of stones was uncovered in the middle section of the sanctuary. The ceiling of the sanctuary had brick vaulting ribs, while the ceiling of the nave was left with a smooth surface; there were no buttresses found in this area. Brick rib fragments were no longer found inside the nave. During this phase the church had been surrounded with a stone wall, which could not have fulfilled any defensive role, judging from its shallow foundation. Burials during this period were mostly concentrated on the southern side (Fig. 11), and inside the church. Burials outside the wall were commenced in the seventeenth century, as the interior supposedly became filled up (Fig. 12).

A large tower was erected on the western side of the church. The foundation was made by digging a large pit and placing the walls inside of it (Fig. 13). This foundation reached down to about two meters from the surface. The western entrance was still in use

even after the construction of the tower. The cemetery was surrounded with a massive, oval wall, dated around 1520–1530 (Fig. 14). The new vestry was built shortly after finishing the construction of the church, as its walls cut through the wall of the newly built gothic sanctuary. Even later on, the Romanesque nave was left almost untouched. Only one of the buttresses on its northwestern side was rebuilt.

According to our estimations, the ongoing excavations will be finalized in one to two years. At present, approximately half of the graves have been anthropologically evaluated; therefore, we will not present the final analysis of these data. Instead, we would like to describe several methodological procedures which are used during our investigation of the recovered burials.

Bioarchaeology

Skeletal excavation and analysis at the Papdomb site follow American bioarchaeological methods and interpretive goals. American bioarchaeology is a specialization within anthropology that primarily combines biological and archaeological methods and theory to understand how past people lived and navigated their environments.[22] Bioarchaeology as a field of study was first proposed by Jane E. Buikstra in 1977.[23] At that time, skeletal remains were considered of limited value in archaeological interpretation. At best, archaeologists assumed that human skeletal remains only offered information about the number of adults, non-adults, males, and females interred at a site and did not contribute to overall interpretation of settlement patterns, subsistence, or other inferred behaviors. Skeletal analysts were seen as technicians that constructed tables about site demographics.[24] Buikstra's contribution demonstrated how human remains deepen an understanding of past peoples' social organization, gender perceptions, diet, health, mortality, and social and biological interaction. Since then, bioarchaeology has become more sophisticated, broadening its contribution into areas where biological data was not traditionally used and by identifying new research agendas and directions while simultaneously being self-reflective.[25] Over the last forty years bioarchaeologyhas developed into a series of *bioarchaeologies* such as the bioarchaeology of: embodiment; gender; inequality; ethnogenesis; violence; identity; deviance; childhood; public memory; and, disability.[26] Bioarchaeology research can now be found in the natural sciences, applied to understanding broad social phenomena, and as a tool to connect humans and their shared experiences through time by telling the story in the bones.[27]

In the United States, bioarchaeologists rarely have an opportunity to excavate the skeletal remains that they are analyzing. Most of the skeletal collections in the U.S. were acquired during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many are fraught with challenges like vague or lost excavation documentation, poor curation practices, and ethical best practices in analysis.[28] The latter is most present when working with Indigenous remains.

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[22] Buikstra, Beck 2006; Larsen 2015.

[23] Buikstra 1977.

[24] Buikstra 1991.

[25] Stojanowski, Duncan 2015.

[26] Knudson, Stojanowski 2009.

[27] Sheridan 2017; Larsen 2018.

[28] Larsen, Walker 2005.

The ability to excavate and analyze skeletal remains is rare and another of the reasons why the Papdomb excavation project is unique and valuable. It not only provides insight into the particular history of one region of the Carpathian Basin, but serves as an experiential learning opportunity for newcomers to the field to think about holistic bioarchaeolgical research questions.

The Papdomb project is also exceptional because it is a collaborative project. It brings together an international team of excavators and researchers who work with the descendant community in positive ways (Fig. 15). Although, bioarchaeology was first formalized in the United States, many of the early excavations were conducted on Native American sites. Human remains and sacred objects were excavated, removed, analyzed, and in some instances destroyed without the permission of the descendants of those people. This is problematic in many ways and has had a profound effect on native people, bioarchaeologists, and research[29] in the United States. Another reason that the Papdomb site is unusual is in the completeness of site excavation as discussed above. Time and resources often impact an excavation project such that the entire site cannot be excavated. The ability to excavate the Papdomb site as completely as possible means that a more thorough and accurate understanding of the people in the cemetery and the use of the cemetery can be achieved.

Excavation and analysis of the human remains recovered from the Papdomb site can provide data for countless theses and dissertations therefore it is important to capture as much information as possible within the constraints of time and resources. It is also important to keep the remains in perpetuity because there are nearly limitless investigations that can be conducted and each one takes time. Moreover, as time passes new technological innovations facilitate new areas of inquiry and new ways to understand the past. For instance, novel analytical approaches produce knowledge that is otherwise unknown and underscore, why curating human skeletal remains and their associated excavation data is important.[30] The overarching, bioarchaeological goal of the project is to reconstruct the lives of the medieval Szeklers that lived in the area. Basic skeletal analysis provides information related to age-at-death, sex, stature, indicators of pathological condition, evidence of trauma, and in some cases, behavior. Using those variables, we can then look for patterns in burial placement, grave offerings, time period, and biological relationships to tell us about social and economic status, and age and sex perspectives. Isotope testing can indicate what medieval people were eating. DNA testing can look at biological relationships and provide sex information for non-adult remains because sex cannot be estimated on pre-pubescent individuals.

Human Skeletal Excavation Methods

Several methods can be used to excavate human skeletal remains. The methods used at the Papdomb site were chosen based on time, resources, the expertise and guidance of the first author, and parameters of working with field school students.

Excavation of the Papdomb site was complicated by the use and reuse of the cemetery space over 700 years and has made excavation challenging because it has resulted

[29] Lambert, Walker 2019.

[30] Radini et alii 2019.

in multiple pieces of isolated and unassociated human remains. As new graves were excavated, previously interred bones became grave-fill. The disturbance and commingling of these bones, sometimes multiple times, meant that a single, isolated, piece of bone could not be confidently re-associated with a burial or even a general location (Fig. 16). These bones were marked as 'unassociated' and were collected and put into a bag labeled with the general provenience (e.g. 'near G300' or 'SW corner of trench 18').

An in-situ *grave* was defined by the articulation of two or more bones (e.g. a cranium and a mandible or a humerus and ulna). When a burial was uncovered, first, the edges of the burial feature were defined with trowels. Then, the matrix was removed from the bones with non-metal hand tools (e.g., bamboo picks and brushes). Metal tools can damage bone. Human remains were pedestaled within the burial feature. After the complete exposure of the burial, it was photographed, and a plan–View map was drawn. Field notes were completed prior to removal of the burials. When all documentation had been checked, the burial was removed. After removal of the burial, the area surrounding and beneath the burial was troweled to ensure that no associated human remains, burials, or artifacts were present. If the osseous remains were wet, they were air dried on-site before being transferred to the lab space.

Screening of matrix associated with the burials was not undertaken as it did not improve the output of the excavation. A dense, clay matrix was predominant at the site and meant that only small trowel cuts could be made, and that the matrix was thoroughly inspected prior to deposition in the back-dirt pile. The recovery of small items such as ear ossicles, forming deciduous teeth, and degraded hair pins continuously demonstrated that screening would not have added additional recovery. Furthermore, the clay content of the matrix would have reduced the ability of the material to move through the screen thereby increasing the potential for small, fragile items to be damaged or destroyed. If artifacts were uncovered during burial excavation, digging was paused and Zsolt Nyárádi assisted with documentation, removal, and appropriate curation of the materials.

After the skeletal remains were excavated, they were brought to the field lab for initial inventory and curation. In this step, all bags associated with a grave were checked to make sure that everything that left the field made it to the lab. From there, the remains were washed with water and a tooth brush. The bones were not submerged. Instead, only enough water and brushing were applied to remove the sediment. Teeth were never scraped clean because the calculus (hardened plaque) could be used in later analysis. The bones were air dried and then rebagged. Once the bones were dry, formal lab analysis began.

Biological Profile

After skeletons were recorded and recovered from the archaeological context at the Papdomb site, they were accessioned into the collections at Haáz Rezső Museum in Odorheiu Secuiesc, Harghita County, and ready for laboratory analysis. Each skeleton was systematically observed and recorded in the same standardized way following internationally recognized guidelines.[31] Observations were recorded by hand on paper and those records were digitized for archival purposes at the Haáz Rezső Museum. In addition, photographs of each skeleton were taken in the laboratory. Beyond providing

[31] Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994; Mitchell, Brickley 2017.

an overall inventory (e.g., a comprehensive list of the recovered bones and teeth), the forms documented and summarized the components of the biological data that provided a baseline for interpreting skeletons from the Papdomb archaeological context.

Sex

Sex estimates are the first of several biological parameters which allow researchers to better understand the paleodemography and sex-specific activities of past populations, including our work at the Papdomb site.[32] Bioarchaeologists utilize skeletal indicators from the pelvis, long bones, and skull to make estimates about an individual skeleton's sex.[33] Typically, sex estimates are only generated for individuals whose skeletons appear to have reached skeletal maturity; however, in some instances ancient DNA (aDNA) or proteomic analyses are applied to mature skeletons whose sex estimates are unclear or in non-adult skeletons where methods applied to mature skeletons do not work.[34] Overall sex estimates from archaeological sites are then aggregated to better understand site-specific questions; however, in some instances sex estimates are used to explore osteobiographies of single individuals.[35] For example, bioarchaeologist Sharon DeWitte has extensively analyzed sex data from the East Smithfield Black Death cemetery, as well as several pre- and post-Black Death cemeteries to understand the effects of sex on both frailty and mortality in medieval populations in England during the Black Death.[36] From her analyses, DeWitte concluded that sex did not affect the risk of mortality during the epidemic and corroborated historical sources which stated that the Black Death killed men and women equally. However, DeWitte coupled sex data with indicators of stress recorded in skeletal and dental tissues (e.g., periosteal new bone formation, cranial porosities, and linear enamel hypoplasia) and discovered that prior exposure to physiological stress increased the risk of death for men, but not for women.[37] Finally, DeWitte concluded that females may have been better shielded from deleterious environmental conditions as children prior to the Black Death and therefore experienced better survivorship during the epidemic.[38] Sharon DeWitte's longstanding research program on the Black Death underscores the importance of skeletal sex estimates for making inferences about mortality in the past.

Beyond questions focused on sex-specific mortality at the population level, bioarchaeologists also incorporate sex data from the skeleton to examine other important anthropological, archeological, and historical questions. For instance, Zhou and colleagues utilized data derived from skeletal sex estimates to make inferences about a case of obstetric death dating to 3900–2900 BC in Henan, China.[39] Skeletal remains of a full-term infant were found associated with those of an adult female which facilitated the authors' discussion about rare cases of obstetric death in the archaeological record. In this case, sex estimates of the adult female facilitated a discussion about obstetric death. Had the skeleton been of a male individual, this interpretation and subsequent discussion about

[32] Agarwal, Wesp 2017.
[33] Klales 2020.
[34] Thomas 2020; Mays, Faerman 2001; Stewart et alii 2017.
[35] Stodder, Palkovich 2012.
[36] DeWitte 2009.
[37] DeWitte 2010.
[38] DeWitte 2018.
[39] Zhou et alii, 2020.

pregnancy in the past would not have been possible. In another example from prehistoric Europe, bioarchaeologists coupled morphological sex data with degenerative changes to the elbow region of the upper limb to make inferences about a potential sexual division of labor across time.[40] Villotte and Künsel examined *thrower's elbow* and found that prehistoric European males displayed a specific pattern of degenerative skeletal change to their right elbow.[41] Ultimately, in this study the authors concluded that male individuals participated in a unique suite of sex-specific behaviors.[42]

In the case of our on-going work from the Papdomb site, sex data from each skeleton is used to better understand patterns of sex-specific phenomena over time. For example, sex estimates allow us to examine research questions related to sex-specific mortality and sex-specific behaviors. We are currently working on a project using genetic sex-estimations investigating patterns of sex and the co-occurrence of individuals buried with beaded headbands. In addition, if we were to generate genetic or proteomic sex determinations for non-adult individuals, we might better understand mortality among non-adult individuals. For example, it is well-known that biologically male infants have a higher risk of mortality at birth;[43] therefore, sex data from non-adults would allow us to better understand if this trend occurred across time at the Papdomb site. Finally, sex data can also be coupled with isotopic data to better understand whether women and men varied in their subsistence practices across time. In sum, sex data are a critically important for bioarchaeologists working in contexts around the world and our project at Papdomb is no different.

Age-at-death

Like sex estimation, age-at-death estimation is essential to developing the biological profile of human skeletal remains and plays a significant role in elucidating paleodemographic patterns from bioarchaeological contexts.[44] Bioarchaeolgoists typically incorporate a multitude of skeletal and dental aging methodologies to estimate age-at-death.[45] Currently, the approach to age-at-death estimation depends on the overall age of the individual. For example, in cases of immature, non-adult individuals, bioarchaeologists typically utilize the development and eruption of the dentition, ossification and fusion of epiphyses, and growth of long bone lengths to estimate age.[46] In mature adults, bioarchaeologists typically rely on degenerative morphological characteristics to estimate age, such as changes to joint surface of the pelvic girdle (e.g., pubic symphysis, and auricular surface), changes to sternal rib ends, and fusion of cranial sutures.[47] In some cases, histological approaches to age estimation (particularly from the dentition) are also used by bioarchaeologists.[48]

Estimating age from the skeleton is dependent upon understanding the underlying changes that occur across the lifespan and correlating these to chronological measures. Thus, age estimation from the skeleton comprises correlating biological age or physiological

[40] Villotte, Künsel 2014.
[41] Villotte, Künsel 2014.
[42] Villotte, Künsel 2014.
[43] Naeye et alii 1971; Wells 2000.
[44] Frankenberg, Konigsberg 2006.
[45] Kemkes-Grottenthaler 2002, 49.
[46] Cunningham, Scheuer, Black 2016; Lewis 2007.
[47] Kemkes-Grottenthaler 2002.
[48] Bertrand et alii 2019.

age with chronological age or how long a person has been alive.[49] Because the skeletal aging process varies between individuals as a result of genetics, nutrition, environmental factors, and activity level, biological and chronological age are not entirely correlated.[50] In addition, adult age estimation is less precise than non-adult age estimation due to individual variation and because adult aging methods are based on degenerative changes that provide wider age ranges, which become increasingly broader as age increases. Furthermore, a trajectory effect has been observed in adult age estimation where the older the individual, the greater the disparity between biological and chronological age.[51]

It is important to note that age-at-death estimates facilitate a fined-grained analysis of the demography of bioarchaeological contexts (Fig. 16).In some cases, bioarchaeological assemblages are dominated by the remains of pre-term, perinate, and young infants and other non-adults.[52] In other contexts, age-at-death estimates demonstrate that a cross section of a population is represented.[53] In addition, bioarchaeologists incorporate information about age-at-death to make inferences about the age cohorts and the life course.[54] For example, recent scholarship has assessed the role of adolescents in the bioarchaeological record.[55] These contributions have examined the timing of when individuals completed the adolescent growth spurt and called attention to the social implications of this transitional time. Additionally, bioarchaeologists have also begun to examine and consider the lives of individuals at the end of the life course.[56] Termed the *invisible elderly* by some scholars, bioarchaeologists are only beginning to carefully consider the lives of the oldest individuals in archaeological samples.[57] In the case of our on-going work from Papdomb, analyses of the overall age-at-death distribution demonstrates that a cross section of the community was buried in this cemetery over time-infants, children, adolescents, and adults of all ages were buried there (Fig. 17). As our work on the interpretation of Papdomb continues, age-at-death estimates gleaned from laboratory analyses will play an important role in better understanding the Papdomb community over time.

Post-cranial Metrics and Dental Data

Other types of data are a fundamental component of bioarcheological research beyond age and sex-estimation. In our case at the Papdomb project, we routinely collect long-bone measurements in both adult and non-adult individuals, as well as standardized data from the dentition. In the case of long-bone bone measurements, bioarcheologists have demonstrated that numerous anthropological questions can be investigated by analyses of various dimensions of the post-cranial skeleton.[58] For example, from analysis of simple long bone dimensions, bioarcheologists can reconstruct stature (i.e., height), body mass proportions, and even habitual activities.[59] For instance, researchers investigated how

[49] Hoppa, Vaupel 2002.
[50] Nawrocki 2010.
[51] Nawrocki 2010.
[52] Halcrow, Tayles, Elliott 2018; Mays et alii 2017.
[53] Roksandic, Armstrong 2011.
[54] Sofaer 2011.
[55] Lewis, Shapland, Watts 2016; Arthur, Gowland, Redfern 2016.
[56] Appleby 2010.
[57] Cave, Oxenham 2014.
[58] Ruff 2019.
[59] Ruff 2019.

social status influenced stature in high status and low status people who lived in Alba, Italy during the medieval period.[60] In this study, the researchers discovered differences in the long bone measurements between high status and low status males, but not females.[61] This study demonstrated that differential access to food resources influences human biology (e.g., growth and development) and that long bone dimensions can provide evidence of the lived experience of different groups during the medieval period.

Lastly, bioarchaeologists have utilized data from the dentition to reconstruct many facets of the human experience across time.[62] The dentition record data about human growth and development, as well as information related to subsistence practices, disease loads, and stress responses. As a result, we routinely collect data from the dentition that are standard across bioarchaeological contexts around the world. To date, we have used data from the dentition of people at Papdomb to make inferences about the oral health of medieval Szeklers in comparison to other medieval Europeans.[63]

Additional analysis

Radiocarbon dating

Once basic biological data is collected more detailed types of analyses are possible. At present, several types of analytical testing are being conducted with the individuals from the Papdomb site. First, we have submitted several samples for radiocarbon testing. Radiocarbon testing supplements relative dating methods of coins, nails, architectural changes, and liturgical influences by providing precise dates of burial of an individual. Twelve dates from Papdomb were run to help determine the earliest interments at the site, the building phases, and landscape use such as within and outside the church. Several dates are necessary to control for error or contamination but also to get a better picture of site use. Last, one of the primary questions being asked at Papdomb is how early were the Szeklers in Transylvania? Radiocarbon dates may help answer that question.

Stable Isotope Analysis

Another area of research that is a mainstay of twenty-first century bioarchaeological scholarship is stable isotope analysis.[64] Since the late 1970s archaeologists have routinely incorporated stable isotope analysis into their research because of the way that human bones and teeth record chemical signatures of human behavior. For example, isotopic signatures reflect information about the kinds of foods that people consumed, the environments that they lived in, and how they moved across the landscape. This area of research is based off the knowledge that the organic and inorganic components of bones and teeth (e.g., collagen and hydroxyapatite) are affected by the chemical composition of introduced foods and water. By isolating and extracting these compounds and analyzing them in specific laboratories with mass spectrometers, bioarcheologists are able to generate datasets which can be used to investigate numerous anthropological questions related to diet, migration, and the environment.[65] Stable isotopic analysis has been heavily integrated

[60] Weiss et alii 2019.
[61] Weiss et alii 2019.
[62] Hillson 1996.
[63] Zejdlik et alii 2019.
[64] Ericksson 2013; Britton 2017.
[65] Reitsema 2013.

into bioarchaeological research and professionally organizations, such as *Isoarch* (isoarch.eu), have been established to foster collaboration and data-sharing among bioarcheologists around the world.[66]

Bioarcheologists have utilized stable isotope analysis to answer questions about the kinds of plants that human groups cultivated and consumed and the sources of their dietary protein.[67] Moreover, researchers have utilized isotopic data to answer questions about non-adult diets and weaning practices across time.[68] In other examples researchers have examined strontium isotopes to examine human migration across the landscape.[69] In sum, bioarcheologists have relied on stable isotope analysis to answer questions that are not possible to investigate solely from macroscopic analyses of human tissues. Additionally, isotopic data provide insight into human behaviors that are unknown because of a lack of documentary sources. In the case of our work from Papdomb, we have undertaken a comprehensive investigation of Szekler dietary practices through the lens of isotopic analysis. Our work to date has examined isotopic data from both adult and non-adult individuals and has suggested that medieval Szeklers subsisted off cereal grains like wheat (as opposed to millet or corn) for most of their time in the Carpathian Basin. Not surprisingly, isotopic data have also confirmed that the majority of protein that Szeklers consumed came from terrestrial sources. We have also been able to make some inferences about the age at which Szekler children were weaned from breastmilk.[70] In addition, preliminary stable isotopic data suggest that some Szekler people had differential access to various foodstuffs reflecting a social hierarchy described by historians.[71]

Collaborative Discourse and Presenting Our Work

A hallmark of bioarchaeological research involves sharing research findings with both professional colleagues and public audiences.[72] Our work at the Papdomb site is no different. To date, we have participated in numerous international conferences related to bioarchaeology and have organized a symposium at the 2020 virtual *Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists* (EAA). Our symposium is tied to a theme crafted by the EAA called *Embedded in European archaeology: the Carpathian Basin* and draws together researchers at varying career stages interested in numerous questions focused on the history Papdomb and other Szekler communities. It is our hope that the symposium provided an opportunity for people outside of the project to learn more about our on-going research and the important ways that the bioarchaeological approach informs what we know about the past.

Teaching

Conducting the excavation as a field school provides students with a hard-to-find experience in excavation and analysis of human skeletal remains. The project provides

[66] Salesse et alii 2018.
[67] Katzenberg, Waters-Rist 2019.
[68] Tustaya, Yoneda 2015.
[69] Peschel et alii 2017.
[70] Voas et alii 2018.
[71] Molnár et alii 2015.
[72] Buikstra 2019.

significant opportunities for students to get involved in international bioarchaeology, multi-institution networking and collaboration, and addressing biological, archaeological, and cultural questions. Over the course of several weeks, students acquire skills in broad and small-scale excavation, drawing, mapping, and note taking; thereby, developing the strategic skill necessary to acquire jobs working for both archaeological and forensic organizations around the world. Students come out of the program able to integrate information from a variety of contexts through first learning about the complicated history of Transylvania and the Szeklers and then applying it to their interpretations in the field and the lab. They are expected to think about how history has affected mortuary treatment throughout the use of the cemetery, how it affected the daily lives of the people interred within, and how various mortuary treatments and environmental conditions have affected preservation and modification of the individual (Fig. 19). Finally, they have to communicate what they are learning through documentation and presentation. On a more contemporary level, western students (primarily Americans) experience a different way of life. Many of the students that participate in the program have never traveled abroad and do not realize that people live in different ways. They are often humbled by the kindness, resourcefulness, and persistent tenacity of the Szeklers.

The bones themselves are also useful for teaching. Arguably, the most important skill for a bioarchaeologist or forensic anthropologist to acquire is the ability to identify small fragments of bone for basic characteristics to make a determination of human *vs* non-human bone and then if human, what the bone it is, and what side of the body it comes from. Broken bones are the best teaching and studying tools for gaining this skill. Many teaching collections do not have skeletal remains or if they do, they are purchased, complete skeletons. Having a fragment collection from an archaeological context provides students with a range of age, sex, human variation, and taphonomic modifications to consider thereby making leaning as similar to the profession as possible.

Conclusion

At its nature, bioarchaeology is a collaborative enterprise that draws together a range of interested people who understand that learning about the past is important. Moreover, as we have demonstrated, many different types of skills and expertise are required in order to fully operationalize the bioarchaeological approach. Though it is a relatively new addition to the study of historical Szekler communities who have lived in the Carpathian Basin for centuries, we hope that the bioarchaeological perspective adds valuable insight and complements what historians and other experts of Szekler history already know. Indeed, as with the case in many places and time periods around the world, histories were not recorded or documents have not survived to the present day. Bioarchaeology provides an opportunity to learn from the people who directly experienced the world that we want to learn more about.

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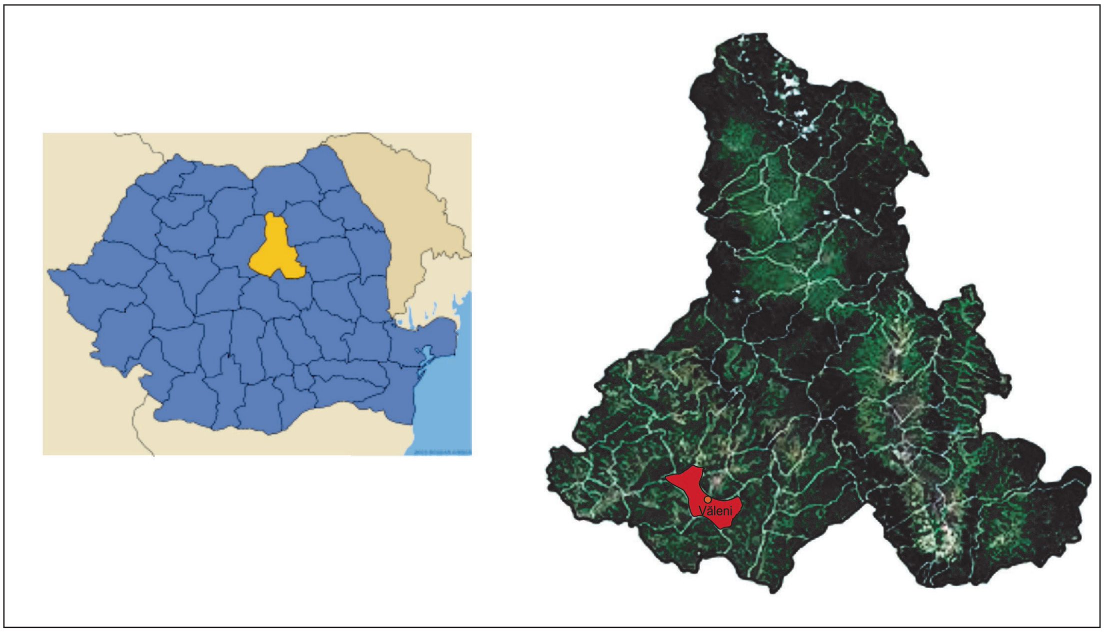

Fig. 1. Maps showing the location of Văleni village within the Feliceni Commune, Harghita County, and Romania (https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/List%C4%83_de_comune_din_jude%C8%9Bul_Harghita#/media).

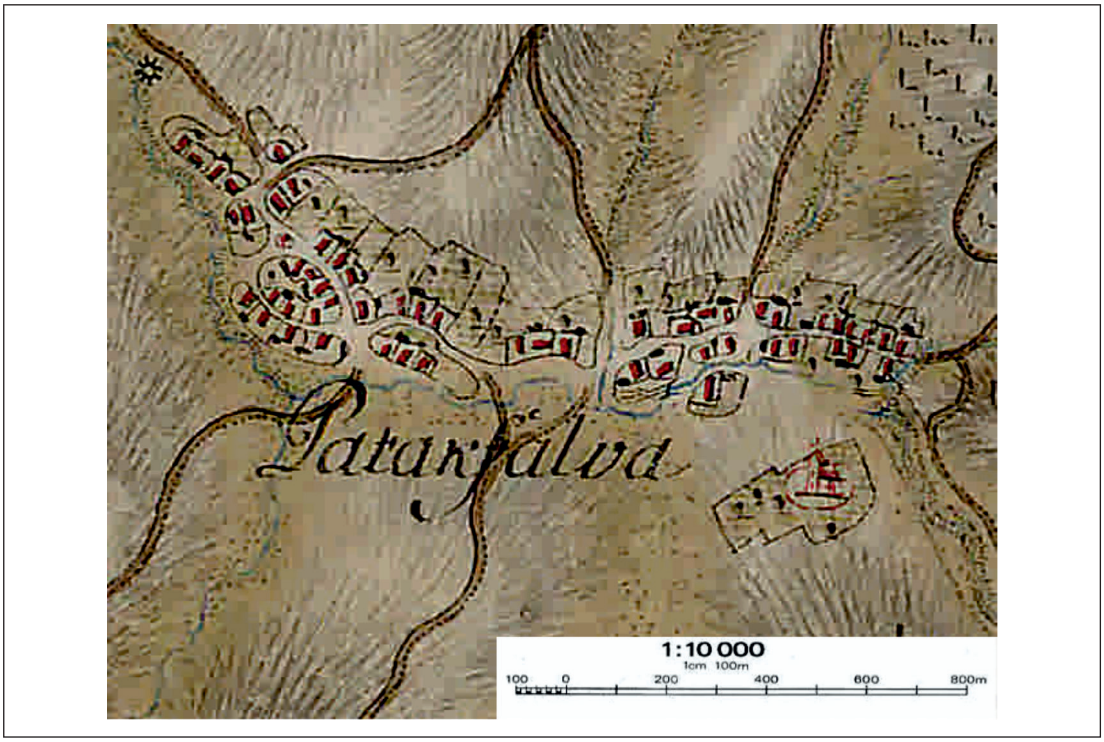

Fig. 2. The church in Văleni on the First Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire (https://mapire.eu/hu/map/firstsurvey-transylvania, *Habsburg Birodalom–Első Katonai Felmérés. Erdély (1769–1773)*, Erdély B IX a 715; original in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna).

Fig. 3. Position of the medieval church within the present-day village cemetery (image by the authors).

Fig. 4. Earth mounds representing traces of the medieval church, view from south (image by the authors).

Fig. 5. General ground plan of the excavation of the medieval church at Văleni–Papdomb, 2014–2019 (image by the authors).

Fig. 6. Retrieved small finds: **1.** bent bronze plate, M-260; **2.** bronze appliqué, S-12, D. 1.5–1.7 m; **3.** iron button, S-12, D. 0.9–1 m; **4.** bone bead, M-249; **5.** cloth fastener, S-11, D. 1.6–1.7 m; **6.** fragments of a bronze buckle, S-14; **7.** bronze hanger, S-13, D. 1.4–1.6 m; **8.** bronze ring, S-13, D. 1.2–1.4 m; **9.** lock-ring, S-15, next to tower wall; **10.** hairpin, S-13, Object no. 14; **11.** fragment of a hairpin, S-15; hairpins with bulbed end: **12.** S-13, D. 0.7–0.9 m, **13.** S-12, D. 0.7–0.8 m, **14.** Object no. 14, **15.** S-13, D. 1.4–1.5 m, **16.** S-15, grave fill, **17.** S-15, next to church wall, **18.** S-11, D. 0.8–1.2 m; coins: **19.** M-272, King Andrew II, **20.** S-13, D. 0.4–0.5 m silver, year 1612; **21.** S-15, grave fill, King Béla IV, **22.** M-336, used, 15th cent., **23.** M-308, year 1442, **24.** M-258, King Louis I, **25.** M-239, year 1387–1427, **26.** M-241, King Béla IV, **27.** S-11, year 1446, **28.** M-527, King Sigismund, **29–30.** M-506, King Sigismund; hairpins: **31.** S-22, 1.1 m, **32.** S-25, 0.5–0.6 m, **33.** S-21, 1.2 m; **34.** buckle, M-486; lock-rings: **35.** S-23, 1.3–1.4 m, **36.** S-22, 1.3 m; **37.** bronze nail, S-22, 1.3–1.6 m; **38.** bronze appliqué, S-21, 1.8 m; **39.** shield-shaped appliqué, M-500 (image by the authors).

Fig. 7. Large stone blocks from trenches 7 and 8, used as foundation for the wooden church (image by the authors).

Fig. 8. The southern area of the church (image by the authors).

Fig. 9. Early graves in superposition (image by the authors).

Fig. 10. Sanctuary of the gothic church (image by the authors).

Fig. 11. Collective burial excavated in trench 11 (image by the authors).

Fig. 12. Graves outside the precinct wall, trench 5 (image by the authors).

Fig. 13. North-eastern corner of the gothic tower, trench 8 (image by the authors).

Fig. 14. The precinct wall on the eastern side of the cemetery, researched in 2019 (image by the authors).

Fig. 15. Research of the burials by the ArchaeoTek team, 2014 (image by the authors).

Fig. 16. Graves excavated in the eastern part of the church exterior (image by the authors).

Fig. 17. Double-burial with male and newborn skeletons, dated at the beginning of the seventeenth century (image by the authors).

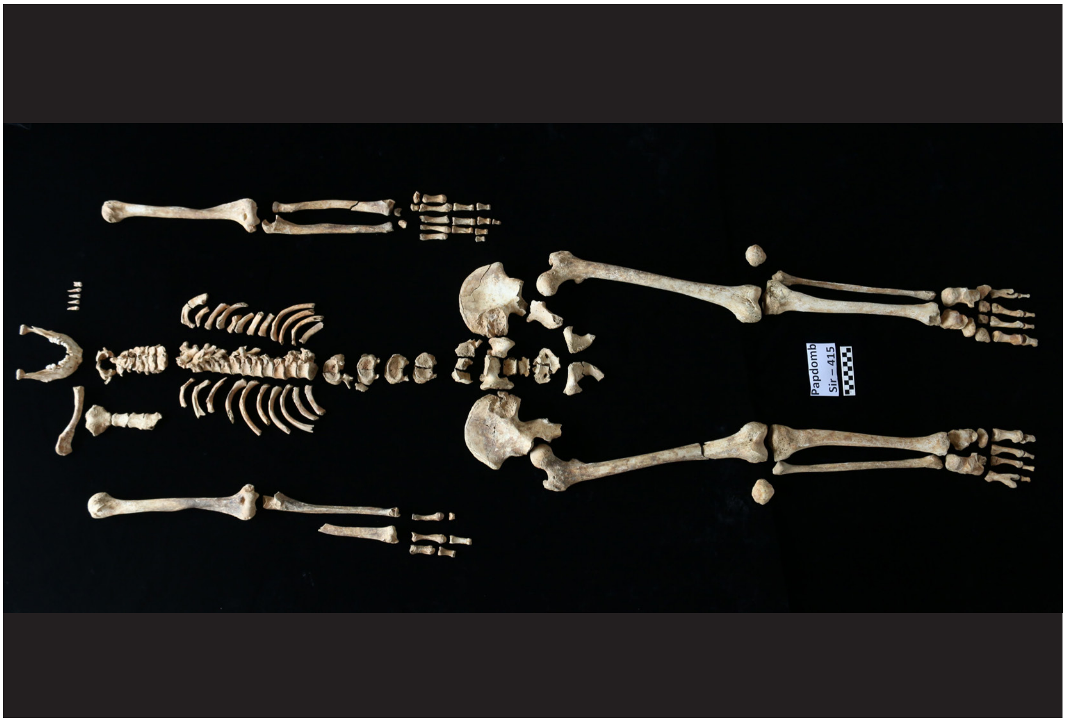

Fig. 18. Grave 415, following the anthropologic analysis, bones syndactyly (image by the authors).

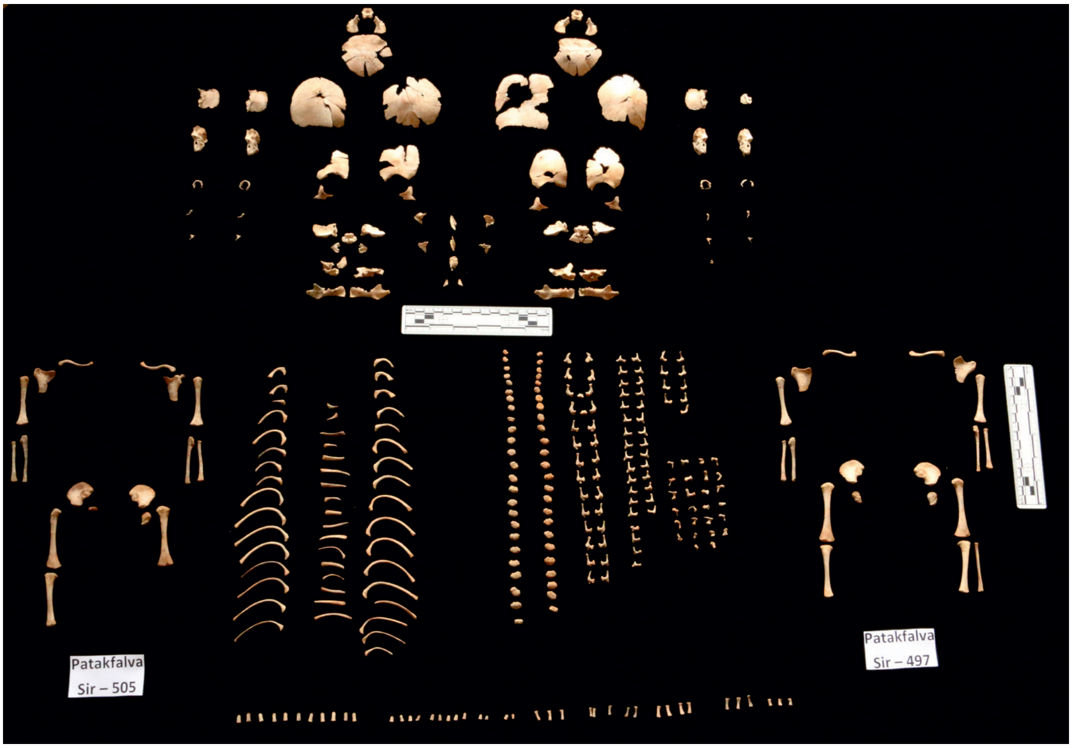

Fig. 19. Double-burial of twin females, M-497, M-505 (image by the authors).

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THE DOMESTIC MACABRE: DEVILS AND VIOLENCE ON MEDIEVAL TILES

ANA-MARIA GRUIA*

Abstract: The present paper analyzes the possible functions of medieval stove tile depictions consisting of violent scenes and images of devils and devilish monsters. The depictions on mold-made stove tiles can be considered the first mass produced images before print and are thus valuable sources in the research of popular culture, especially in Central and Eastern Europe where print made a later appearance. The focus here is on macabre depictions of tiles (devilish monsters, scenes of deadly violence, demons, and afterlife torments). My hypothesis is that though 'lighter' than macabre scenes in other arts, such images on stove tiles might have played an apotropaic function, meant to repel or distract maleficent spirits that could cause people harm through stove malfunctions. Still, one cannot exclude the moralizing, instructive, and purely entertaining functions of such depictions.

Keywords: stove tiles, macabre, violence, demons, Middle Ages

Rezumat: Prezenta lucrare analizează funcțiile posibile ale reprezentărilor de pe cahlele medievale constând în scene violente și imagini ale diavolilor și ale monștrilor diabolici. Aceste descrieri pot fi considerate primele imagini produse în masă înainte de tipar și reprezintă, astfel, surse valoroase în cercetarea culturii populare, în special în Europa Centrală și de Est, unde tiparitul a apărut ulterior. Accentul se pune aici pe reprezentări macabre de pe cahle (monștri diabolici, scene de violență mortală, demoni și chinurile de după moarte). Ipoteza mea este că, deși „mai ușoare" decât scenele macabre din alte arte, astfel de imagini ar fi putut juca o funcție apotropaică, menită să respingă sau să distragă spiritele malefice, care ar fi putut provoca rănirea oamenilor prin defecțiuni ale sobelor. Totuși, nu se pot exclude nici funcțiile moralizatoare, instructive și pur distractive ale acestor descrieri.

Cuvinte cheie: cahle, macabru, violență, demoni, Ev Mediu

Introduction

Decorated tile stoves are frequent archaeological finds, and therefore can function as valuable source materials for the study of popular culture in Central and Eastern Europe. The closed heating system consisting of stoves almost entirely covered in tiles appeared in the Alpine regions around 1300 and spread as a German technological improvement along the routes of German colonization or trade.[1] The new heating system had significant advantages since it was smokeless and it accumulated and radiated heat more efficiently. Tile stoves

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[1] Franz 1969; Strauss 1983. Several more recent studies point to the gradual improvement of the system, showing that tiles were *invented* and included in increasing numbers in the clay covering of stoves as early as the tenth century.

became typical in the late Middle Ages for the German Empire, Bohemia, the Kingdom of Hungary, Moldavia, Denmark, and Poland.[2] Some tiles have also been discovered in neighboring regions such as Alsace, southern England and Scandinavia, Croatia, Latvia, or Walachia. In other parts of Europe, not only in the hotter Mediterranean but also in most of France, England and Scandinavia, the fireplace was the preferred heating system. Tile stoves, especially if glazed and lavishly decorated, were luxury items, which spread according to a top-down social pattern of distribution. Tiles have been found in all types of interiors, from palaces and residences to city and town houses, monasteries, and various public buildings. By the sixteenth century, they were frequent in rural houses as well, but one should note the use of lower-quality tiles and a parallel use of open hearths in lower status dwellings. The wide dissemination of stove tiles, across wide geographical areas, various types of interiors, and the numerous ethnic and religious groups of late medieval Central Europe, suggests that their iconography can be analyzed in the context of popular culture, reflecting popular views and mentalities. Due to the wide use of illustrated tiles, their 'mass production,' and their preeminent visual role in late medieval interiors, they have been interpreted as 'prints before prints.' The images on tiles, sometimes shocking, intriguing, or absurd to the modern viewer, must have spoken a different language to their medieval beholders, in the paradigm of what Richard Kieckhefer labeled the 'common tradition.'[3] Instead of the popular-elite distinction, he introduced a more nuanced and fluid distinction between the 'common tradition" and various specialized traditions, the first being, in his definition, 'not universal, not uniform, but sufficiently diffused that it cannot be assigned to any specific subgroup and expressive more of solidarity than of either hegemony or dissent.'[4] Still, as the case with most tiles from the region, little is known about the exact context of use of such stove tiles. There are very few reconstructed (or for that matter, reconstructable) tile stoves, so one does not know which images were placed together in their composition; it is also rare to have precise information on the type of interior where such tiles were used (in which type of rooms), or who saw them (inhabitants, in domestic contexts, owners and visitors, in hall-type rooms, or larger groups of people, in the halls of public buildings or religious constructions).

The iconography of medieval and early modern stove tiles is extremely diverse, ranging from religious, to heraldic, chivalric, profane, vegetal, and geometric. One does not readily find the conventional macabre motifs represented on the tiles – rotten corpses or skeletons and dances of death, proliferating in art in general after the middle of the fourteenth century.[5] Nevertheless, the decoration of such items frequently includes themes

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[2] Main catalogues: Franz 1969; Richterová 1982; Strauss 1983; Dąbrowska 1987; Egyház-Jurovská 1993; Dymek 1995; Batariuc 1999; Brych 2004; Marcu Istrate 2004; Menoušková, Měřínský 2008; Gruia 2013. Other numerous tiles have been published in articles, monographs, exhibition catalogues or have not yet been made public.

[3] Kieckhefer 1994.

[4] Kieckhefer 1994, 833.

[5] Delumeau 1997, 57. A few *memento mori*-type images do feature on late medieval Czech stove tiles. Three related depictions can be interpreted as allegories, showing reclining figures with skulls as pillows, in one case accompanied by the inscription *VERITAS*. I shall not take them into consideration here, as their symbolic function certainly prevailed over the macabre one – Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 53–54, cat. 149, 150, 151

that engage with the rhetoric of the macabre:[6] images of various devilish monsters, scenes of murder and deadly violence against people,[7] and, in very few cases, actual depictions of demons. Such representations will be analyzed here, stressing their possible medieval reception and the way they reflect a popular view on evil and the fear of violence, death, and the afterworld. Specifically, I will analyze the anatomy of monsters and devils in the common visual tradition and the intensity of violent scenes on stove tiles discussing the possible responses they might have triggered in late medieval Central and Eastern Europe.

Demonic beasts and monsters

The satanic beasts and monsters featured on tiles that are possibly related to fear of death, damnation, and torments in the afterlife include the griffin, the dragon, the female-headed serpent tempting Eve, and the man-eating manticore.[8] The association between beasts and sin is frequent in medieval bestiaries, leading also to the depiction of demons by a combination of human and animal forms, composing thus a bestial perversion of God's image.[9] The medieval symbolism of animals is often ambiguous and unstable, as shown by Michel Pastoureau in his history of the bear,[10] so I will only mention here those examples on tiles where the iconographic scenes including animals and monsters do indicate that they embodied negative values, being associated with the Devil and posed a very real threat to people in this life or the next.

Griffins are described in the medieval bestiaries as having the body of a lion and the wings and head of an eagle. They were said to attack men, horses, and other animals, and numerous romances tell of griffins carrying off strong men.[11] The fabulous beast was inherited from Greco-Roman art and literature, where they were believed to defend gold treasures, lay eggs of agate, and possessed magical powers.[12] In the Middle Ages griffins received ambiguous interpretations, but in some cases their image was considered to ward off evil (when decorating dress accessories or church bells[13] for example), in others, when in the company of Christian symbols, they were regarded as representing violence and temptation subdued by the church,[14] while their association with paganism and magic certainly placed them close to the Devil-related animals.

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[6] In the common meaning of the word, i.e. disturbing because concerned with or causing a fear of death and/or torments in the afterlife.

[7] I shall exclude the instances of violence against animals (hunting scenes, Biblical episodes such as Samson fighting the lion or David fighting a bear) as I tend to believe that they were not perceived as macabre by their medieval beholders. I have also left out the depictions of warriors on stove tiles (many of which are riders), some brandishing tournament or actual war weapons, noting that violence is somewhat implied, but not explicit and certainly not life-threatening (such warriors are usually depicted alone, without an opponent, and the weapons thus point to their status and not to particular deeds).

[8] Gruia 2010.

[9] Strickland 2003, 65.

[10] Pastoureau 2007.

[11] Lindahl, McNamara, Lindow 2000, 447–449.

[12] See a good presentation in Rosmanitz 2020.

[13] Gruia 2004–2007, 637, 657, fig. 20.

[14] Lindahl, McNamara, Lindow 2000, 447.

On tiles, griffins often appear alone or as heraldic supporters and in such cases it is difficult to speculate how the medieval beholders interpreted them,[15] but a few fifteenth century Czech tiles depict a griffin standing over its human prey (Fig.1).[16] The anatomical structure of the griffin here departs from the descriptions found in bestiaries: instead of having an eagle's ears, this particular griffin has horns, a detail that lends it devilish attributes. It has been noted that after the eleventh century horns were the most common animal characteristic of the Devil, followed by the tail and the wings.[17] The scene might have been interpreted symbolically, as showing the Devil (as a hybrid monster) defeating a Hussite soldier. The tile alludes to the religious wars in Bohemia, since Hussite images have already been identified on stove tiles from the region (showing soldiers with identical kettle hats, plate armor, gambesons, and military flails).[18]

Even more clearly associated with the Devil, both in the literary and the iconographic tradition of the late Middle Ages, were the **dragon** and the serpent. The first was one of the monsters of the bestiaries believed to actually exist and prey on people in Europe and especially in the Orient. The popular narrative episode of St. George slaying the dragon received a symbolic interpretation, with the dragon becoming the embodiment of the Devil, destroyed by the brave Christian knight who was in fact saving the Church.[19] Over 100 saints slew dragons, thus overcoming evil, paganism, or heresy, but none of them is as strongly associated to the deed as St. George.[20]

On stove tiles, the dragon, slain by St. George and sometimes St. Margaret, was a defeated and weak embodiment of evil and not a terrifying creature. Considering the extreme popularity of St. George on tiles everywhere, always depicted slaying the dragon, one can say that the monster associated with the knightly saint is the most often represented devilish creature on stoves, though it is rather the iconographic attribute of this saint.[21] St. George, either on horseback or on foot, is depicted vanquishing the dragon with a spear or a sword, sometimes both.[22]

Similarly looking and interpreted is the dragon which St. Margaret of Antioch killed with a cross-ended staff. The *Golden Legend* speaks of the virgin of God who was swallowed by Satan in the shape of a dragon, but escaped with the help of the cross she was carrying.[23] The scene is not so popular on tiles, some of the few examples having decorated fifteenth century tiles from castles in present-day Croatia, such as Ružica and Varaždin.[24] A small dragon features as her attribute (Margaret is depicted holding the dragon in her right hand) on a few related tiles produced in the center of Banska Bistrica and used in North Hungarian castles.[25]

[15] A discussion of griffins on Czech tiles in Pavlík 2010.

[16] Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 48, cat. 121 – Malenovice (fortification?); Ławrynowicz, Nowakowski 2009, 10, fig. 17 – the fortification of Týřov; Brych 2004, 106, cat. 221 – Prague (the fifteenth century).

[17] Strickland 2003, 62.

[18] Brych 2004, 123–125; Richterová 1982, 17–18, tab. 55; Ławrynowicz Nowakowski 2009, 9–10, figs. 14–17.

[19] Riches 2000, 140.

[20] Hogarth 1980.

[21] Gruia 2004–2007.

[22] Gruia 2013, chapter 5 (119–151).

[23] de Voragine 1967, 452–455.

[24] Gruia 2013, 494, cat. 412, 496, cat. 417, with reproductions and the bibliography.

[25] Gruia 2013, 113–114, with reproductions and the bibliography.

Dragons also feature on tiles fighting or being defeated by other animals. On a Czech tile dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, a dragon can be seen defeated by a Czech lion, crowned, and identified by its typical double tail.[26] The image has been labeled as heraldic, but its general meaning is nevertheless that the Czech lion prevails over the forces of Evil.

Another creature of Satan often depicted on tiles is the **serpent**, featuring in the scene with Adam and Eve standing by the Tree of Knowledge. Though its biblical association with the Devil in this scene is clear, on some tiles the satanic attributes of the snake are visually stressed as well. In rare cases the serpent is depicted with human head (usually a woman's), such as on the tiles produced by the workshop of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna in 1500.[27] An identical tile was discovered among the ruins of Ružica castle, in Slavonia (Fig. 2).[28] A tile from Prague, dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, includes the Tree of Knowledge with the female-headed serpent coiled on it in the scene where Adam and Eve are banished from Eden by a cherub with a sword, thus showing the consequence of the Original Sin.[29] The tempting snake was assimilated to Satan in the Christian tradition and it was often depicted as a monstrous hybrid creature with a snake's body and a woman's head. Typically, the serpent coiled on the tree turns its head towards Eve who is plucking a fruit. The association places a bad light on women, linking them to temptation, sin, and even the Devil. The snake's female head is depicted on the left side of the tree, just as Eve is, and its tail almost touches her foot. The details are relevant when one takes into consideration the symbolism of right and left, with left being the 'bad' side or direction,[30] and they stress the association between the two entities, with the serpent being almost an *alter ego* of the first woman and thus of all women since forth. A unique representation on tiles comes from a series of fragments recovered archaeologically from the castle of Diósgyőr (Hungary), dated to the middle of the fifteenth century.[31] The preserved fragments have been given a graphic reconstruction that points to a rarer variant of the scene, where Eve is taking the apple from the mouth of the serpent which is coiled on the tree. The glazing is also interesting. Unlike the previously discussed tiles which are either unglazed or covered with monochrome glazing, usually green, this tile is green glazed except for the dark brown snake. This places the accent on Satan's (the snake's) role in the episode, the dark colors being another devilish attribute in the medieval visual convention.[32]

The **manticore** is yet another hybrid monster of the bestiaries, described and represented as a monster with human face, the body of a red lion and the tail of a scorpion, having three rows of teeth and feeding on human flesh.[33] In Central and Eastern Europe it constitutes a decorative motif on stove tiles and ceramic decorative disks,[34] but unlike the

[26] Brych 2004, 37, fig. 18.
[27] Franz 1969, 54–55, fig. 109–111.
[28] Radić, Bojčić 2004, 297, cat. 623; Gruia 2013, cat. 396.
[29] Brych 2004, 56, fig. 72.
[30] di Nola 2001, 154.
[31] Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján 2007, 45, 50, fig. 48, 120, plate LVI.1; Gruia 2013, cat. 42.
[32] Strickland 2003, 62. 71.
[33] Rowland 1973, 125; Benton 1994, 25.
[34] Batariuc 1995.

griffin, the dragon, and the serpent, it enjoyed little popularity on these objects. Crowned manticores, surrounded by strange, possibly magic symbols, appear on tiles from Moldavia and Walachia and I have analyzed them elsewhere.[35] They are relevant for their demonic animal-human hybrid structure, though their man-eating habits are never illustrated on tiles. In some of these cases, the monster is depicted with disproportionate male sexual organs, a possible further indication of its association with the Devil. Rampant sexuality was considered sinful and devilish in the medieval visual tradition, the positioning of demons' horns, tails, and heads with protruding tongues being often interpreted as alluding to their evil carnality.[36] On a fifteenth century tile from Prague, the manticore is attacked by an eagle, in a scene which did not yet receive proper interpretation.[37] Two other partially preserved tiles from the Czech lands also depict manticores (one with the head of a crowned man with long, split beard, the other of Renaissance tradition, with human head, ornate collar, and the body of a lion).[38]

Images of violence

Numerous other scenes decorating stove tiles can be labeled as violent (and deadly, connected to death, or leading to torments in the afterlife), such as representations of biblical murders (Cain and Abel, Joab and Amasa, David and Goliath, Abraham and Isaac, Salome with the severed head of John the Baptist, Judith beheading Holophernes), divine punishment (the Banishment of Adam and Eve from Eden), the Passion of Christ (the Crucifixion being a relatively frequent motif on tiles),[39] allegorical images such as the Pelican in her Piety (a pelican tearing her breast to feed her chicks, a symbol of Christ's sacrifice and rebirth)[40] and the torments of the martyr saints (not many on tiles, St. Sebastian pierced by arrows for example),[41] knightly deeds from the saint's *vitae* (such as St. Ladislas of Hungary fighting the Cuman), and genre scenes that include commonplace conflicts such as the fight between backgammon players,[42] knights in tournament, or hunting scenes. It is less representation than anticipation or the aftermath of violence that is at play here, however: the moments selected for representation anticipate or conclude rather than convey violence, but the suspense, based on the supposition that the medieval beholders of such images had previous knowledge of the popular *stories* the scenes alluded

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[35] A few discovered in the capital city of Moldavia, Suceava and one in the town of Târgovişte, in Walachia – Gruia 2010, 635–636, figs. 18–19. Another crowned manticore was recently uncovered by Adrian A. Rusu during archaeological researches at the monastery of Bistrița and is yet unpublished: Rusu [Facebook post] (25 June 2020).

[36] Strickland 2003, 73.

[37] Brych 2004, 97, fig. 193.

[38] Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 49, cat. 126 – from the castle of Moravské Budějovice and cat. 127 – surprisingly for the fashionable collar, on a tile from the village of Bulhary. I should nevertheless mention that I use general social labels here for the sake of simplicity, as much more in-depth evaluations of the contexts of discovery can be performed.

[39] A Polish tile includes a skull at the base of the cross – Zisopulu-Bleja 2017, 11, fig. 1.

[40] See examples from Hungary in Gruia 2013, 45–47, 93–96.

[41] I have analyzed such depictions from the Kingdom of Hungary (Gruia 2013, chapter 2 and the catalogue), but will exclude them from the present analysis as I believe their symbolic Christian interpretation prevailed and stress was not placed on macabre and deadly violence.

[42] Brych 2004, 115.

to, might have actually intensified the implied sense of macabre. The depicted fights usually go as far as grabbing, pulling, or brandishing weapons. Cain and Abel are represented on a few tiles as bringing offerings to God besides an altar,[43] but one Czech item also shows Cain raising a rake against his prostrated brother Abel.[44] David, shown as a young boy, is preparing his sling, ready to strike the giant Goliath.[45] Adam and Eve are thrown out of Eden by an angel (cherub) menacing them with a raised sword.[46] Abraham is shown rising his sword and ready to strike his son Isaac whom he grabs by the hair.[47] Salome is depicted with the severed head of John the Baptist on a platter, pointing to it with the index finger of her left hand on a sixteenth century tile from the town of Prostějov, in the Czech lands. The cut head is in this case rather her iconographic attribute.[48]

A typical example of an anticipation of violence is the Old Testament scene depicting Joab and Amasa, featured on a polychrome glazed tile discovered among the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorisko (present-day Slovakia) (Fig. 3). Identifying Renaissance architectural elements and costumes, scholars date it to beginning of the sixteenth century.[49] The story, as told in 2 Kings 20: 8–10, is gruesome: Joab, king David's nephew and commander of the army, was replaced with Amasa as captain; in rage, he stabbed Amasa to death by pretending to grab him by the beard to kiss him. The stove tile depiction shows the symbolic gesture of beard-grabbing (while holding a curved blade in the other hand) and presents no gruesome details of stabbing and dying but the moment of conflict preceding them (Fig. 4).

The most macabre-like depicted biblical murder is Judith cutting the head of Holophernes. The scene decorates a group of tiles from Transylvania (Cluj, Vințu de Jos and Sâncrai) and is inspired by a print after a 1531 painting by Luchas Cranach the Elder.[50] Judith is depicted standing, holding a sword in her right hand and grabbing by the hair the severed head of Holophernes. Her female servant holds an open bag for Judith to put the head into. The biblical episode tells how Judith seduced the Assyrian general besieging her city and cut his head with his own sword. In this case the entire story is of interest and though the actual killing is not depicted, but the aftermath, the depiction nevertheless engages more in the rhetoric of the macabre. A more symbolic scene is that of Delilah cutting Samson's hair.[51]

St. Ladislas of Hungary features on some stove tiles chasing the Cuman on horseback and also grabbing his enemy's hair. Best-known episode of his legend is the episode in which

[43] See for example such sixteen-century tiles discovered in Prague (Brych 2004, 57), the castles of Červený Kameň and Šintava, in Northern Hungary, present-day Slovakia (Egyház-Jurovská 1993, cat. 34. fig. 10. cat. 158).

[44] Richterová 1982, table 53. fig. 2.

[45] One sixteen-century tile depicting the scene was probably discovered in Cluj-Napoca, Transylvania (Marcu Istrate 2004, 197, 515, fig. 12.27). For Czech examples see Brych 2004, 59.

[46] Radić, Bojčić 2004, 298, cat. 624.

[47] See for example a sixteen-century tile from Prague, inspired by an engraving (Brych 2004, 58. fig. 76; Richetrová 1982, cat. 276, tab. 53.3). An example from the castle of Füzér in Gruia 2013, 323, cat. 56.

[48] Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 31, cat. 82.

[49] Egyház-Jurovská 1993, cat. 223, fig. 37, Gruia 2013, 445, cat. 305.

[50] Gruia 2013, 213–214, with the bibliography.

[51] Gruia 2013, 310, cat. 27, with the bibliography. The incomplete image might in fact not depict Samson and Delilah but just a 'woman on top' – see the discussion below.

the king rescued a maiden from the hands of a Cuman abductor. The story was popular in both the written and visual traditions related to St. Ladislas. One tile from a village house in Cechești, Transylvania, shows the king and the pagan locked in combat, brandishing weapons.[52] Another tile depicting the episode was discovered in an urban house in Baia, in Moldavia (Fig. 5).[53] It shows the beginning of the fight, when the king, wearing armor, crown, and his typical weapon, the battle-axe, chases the Cuman on horseback. Other visual representations of the legend, manuscript illuminations and especially wall paintings in Transylvania and Slovakia (dated to the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries), insist on the actual fight, a duel with bare hands between the king and the Cuman, ending with the maiden cutting the pagan's sinew (or his neck) and the king or the maiden decapitating him. In the final scene the king rests in the saved girl's lap and the severed Cuman's head is raised on a pike, eaten by black birds.[54] In some wall painting cycles the body of the defeated Cuman is even torn apart by ravens.[55] Such gruesome details are, though, never represented on stove tiles.

Similarly, the fight over the backgammon board is just beginning. The scene only features on a few Czech tiles, and it consists of two men grabbing each other by the hair over a backgammon board (Fig. 6). In clear anticipation of the violence to follow, they usually hold knives or swords in their raised left hands.[56] Medieval documents, especially legal ones, often include mentions of such fights, sometimes leading to injuries and even death, occurring (mostly in taverns, thus related with drinking) during game playing.[57] Mainly plebeian weapons such as dagger or knives are depicted in such everyday-life scenes, thus both potters and viewers were familiar with the scene.[58] Other Czech tiles show scenes of combat (dueling pairs)[59] or fencing exercises, also without actual stabbing or killing. The fencing images do show swords pointed at the opponent's chest, but in a demonstrative stance (the opponents also hold their weapons by the blade).[60]

A larger group of late medieval representations on tiles in Central Europe depict women committing acts of violence against men, elaborating on the *topos* of the power of women. Women on top of men, riding and beating them, such as Aristotle and Phyllis or similar scenes with anonymous men subdued by women, can be found on several medieval stove tiles. Two directly related items, discovered in Salzachtal (Austria) and Buda (Hungary) probably depict the mounted Aristotle. Other tiles from Banská Stiavnica, Banská Bystrica (Slovakia), Csábrág (Hungary), and Bern (Switzerland) (Figs. 7, 8) have probably lost that literary reference because the subdued men are not old. Still, the images show gender role reversals and involve domestic physical violence: women holding men by their hair and

[52] Gruia 2013, 362, cat. 136, with the bibliography.

[53] Batariuc 1999, 260, fig. 63.6.

[54] Gruia 2013, 153–163, 168–172.

[55] Jékely 2014, 108.

[56] Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 70, cat. 211–215; Ławrynowicz, Nowakowski 2009, 9, Fig. 13.

[57] Hazlbauer 1992.

[58] Ławrynowicz, Nowakowski 2009, 8–9.

[59] Hložek, Tymonová 2018, 254, fig. 9, tile from the fortification in Cvilín.

[60] Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 71, cat. 216 from fortification in Bouzov and cat. 217 probably from the city of Brno. A duel, with the two men crossing their blades, can be seen on a tile from Hrad Cvilín – Hložek, Tymonová 2018, Fig. 9, seemingly part of a stove with courtly depictions.

preparing to strike them with different household tools (broom, stick?).[61] As Susan Smith has showed, according to context, intention, and reception, the *topos* of women on top has received during the Middle Ages several diverging interpretations.[62] Whatever the purpose, such images of gender role reversal, another aspect of the carnivalesque 'world turned upside-down,' do tell us something about the norm and its crossings.[63] Popular-festive forms traditionally include scenes of cuckoldry, thrashing, and mockery, Rabelais echoing the famous French *querelle des femmes*.[64] Still, such scenes are not macabre, as the beatings suffered by men at the hand of their spouses are (usually) rather humiliating than deadly. The images on tiles mentioned above are nevertheless relevant in the context of tiles showing other 'women on top' who have killed their partners (Judith, Salome) and in the context of a she-devil riding a woman (discussed below).

As seen above, scenes of violence between humans can be identified on tiles, but, unlike their representation in other arts (such as contemporary wall paintings), they do not convey a sense of macabre *per se*. On stove tiles, medieval potters chose to depict the tense moments preceding the actual injuring or dying. This might be interpreted as transmitting a different type of menacing or frightening situation. Most images include clear indications of the violence to follow, attackers holding threatening weapons and being ready to strike. There actually seems to be a lot of hair pulling in most of these scenes, clear expression of the violence committed and the submission of the weak, such as on tiles showing Abraham and Isaac, Judith and Holofernes, Ladislas and the Cuman, or Joab and Amasa. In other cases, like the fight over the gaming board and women on top, the gesture might also be a somewhat anecdotic addition appreciated by the viewers. The only general symbolic meaning of the gesture during the Middle Ages relates to self-inflicted hair pulling in mourning contexts,[65] which is not the case in these scenes. Since the depicted images are part of medieval 'stories' popular in Central and Eastern Europe, their macabre character might have been enhanced by the viewers' prior knowledge of the episodes' outcome, but the focus clearly resides on the symbolic, the moralizing, or the anecdotic.

Demons and devils

Actual devils feature less frequently on medieval stove tiles. At the present date, I am only aware of several scenes in which demons are depicted on tiles: Archangel Michael weighing souls, the Temptation of Christ, an unusual variant of St. George slaying the dragon, and once in a scene with a she-devil riding a woman.

The earliest in this group is a tile from Bern, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, and decorated with the representation of a woman mounted by a devil that whips her and pulls her hair (Fig. 9).[66] The demon is human-like in its overall appearance but has pointy ears, an animal mouth and nose, and split hoofs (or maybe fish tails instead of feet).

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[61] Gruia 2007. The tile from Csábrág fortification, also produced in the workshops of Banská Bystrica, was published in 2020: Rakonczay 2020, 41, fig. 9.

[62] Smith 1995.

[63] Jones 1990.

[64] Bakhtin 1984, 239–244.

[65] Bartlett 1994, 43–60, 53–55.

[66] A fragment from an unglazed identical tile has also been found in the city: Roth Kaufmann, Buschor, Gutscher 1994, 124–125, cat. 60 and 61.

The image can be interpreted in the context of the group of tiles depicting women beating men discussed above. The tile from Bern might suggest that women usurping the authority of men such as those discussed above are in their turn ruled by devils and will suffer severe punishment. The most interesting detail is that on this stove tile the demon is also female (it has visible breasts). The potter or artist creating this tile might have been influenced by the representations of women 'on top' of men, such as the ones mentioned above. Besides being a visual gloss to images of 'women on top,' this particular tile seems to indicate the fate of such dominating women in the underworld. A woman forgetting her proper gender role and using her sexual powers to subdue men must be under the control of the greater evil, the Devil himself, who ironically subdues her through similar means (riding her, pulling her hair, and whipping her). The fact that on the tile in Bern the demon is also female can be interpreted in several ways. It might mean that the punishment for domineering women is to suffer the same fate at the hands of a she-devil, which is in this context even crueler than a he-devil. General role reversal, just as any sexual deviance, was regarded as a threat to the social fabric and religious order in society, and had to be discouraged.[67]

This tile in Bern is one of the most macabre, being the only one clearly showing a demon beating and humiliating a human being. Since it is a condemnation of a sexual sin (either that of sexually usurping the authority of men or homosexuality), the macabre representation was probably intended to frighten and remind transgressors or those allowing such acts of the punishment to follow.

Another demon is visible on tiles once used in the composition of stoves in Diósgyőr castle (Hungary) in middle of the fifteenth century.[68] Fragments from at least three identical green-glazed stove tiles have been discovered on the site. The reconstructed iconography shows Archangel Michael weighing souls, with a small devil sitting on one arm of the scales, trying to interfere with the salvation of a soul depicted in human form on the opposite end of the scales. Concerning the anatomy of the devil in the image, it has a general human shape but strong animal elements such as pointy ears, beard, and split hoofs. Other tiles depicting the scene were found in the Czech area, one in the castle of Lukov and the other in the castle of Polná (Fig. 10).[69] On the first tile a tiny wolf-like devil sits on one end of the scales and on the second tile a horned human-like devil in orant position is depicted on one of the pans. The shared element is the round mill stone attached to the side of the scale that the devils try to lower. The scene can be seen as a reflection of the popular belief in the Devil's efforts to gain souls, even by cheating, preventing them to gain eternal salvation. Still, the message of the image is optimistic, since the scales incline towards the judged soul indicating that the Devil will not prevail, or are balanced showing that the matter has not been settled either way.

The same iconographic scene might have decorated a fragmentarily preserved tile from a market town house in Cristuru Secuiesc (Transylvania, Romania).[70] The tile most probably dates to the first half of the sixteenth century. The preserved upper right corner shows a male character with the small devil on his left shoulder. The latter has

[67] Cadden 1993, 210.

[68] Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján 2007, 45. 121. plate LVII.2.

[69] Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 31, cat. 83, 32, cat. 84.

[70] Marcu Istrate 2004, 206. 380. fig. 42.A.26; Gruia 2013, 372, cat. 156.

more accentuated animal features than the previous demons: horns, pointy ears, long protruding tongue, wings and a curled tail. Unfortunately, the lower part of the devil's body has not been preserved. What is relevant in two of the images is that the devils stand on the archangel's left side, not surprisingly since left was deemed to be the 'demonic' side.

The Temptation of Christ only features on a mid–sixteenth century Czech tile from Olomouc (Fig. 11).[71] A human-shaped devil with bird feet, long tail, fur, and horns faces Christ and mirrors his gestures (one hand raised across the chest, the other held across the abdomen). In the background one might identify elements of the three temptations mentioned by Matthew and Luke: three rocks between the two characters (the Devil tempts Christ to make bread out of rocks to relieve his own hunger from fasting for 40 days), a tall tree/pinnacle (the Devil told Christ to jump from a pinnacle and rely on angels to break his fall), and a church/place of worship on a hill in the background (the third temptation was to worship Satan in return for all the kingdoms of the world).

Another devil appears on a tile from the Orthodox monastery in Cătina (Walachia, Romania) dated to the sixteenth century.[72] The tile depicts St. George on horseback slaying the dragon with a spear, with a demon, a highly unusual element in this iconographic scene, flying on a stick above the horse's head, again in the left corner. Due to the quality of the reproduction and the schematic representation, the demon on the tile from Cătina cannot be identified as neither male nor female. Several elements of dress, arms and horse tack are, nevertheless, visible. The saint has not a sword but a saber fixed to his belt and he holds a lance. The depiction of the saber provides relevant clues, because it was a curved sword hardly known in the medieval West. This, rather, is an oriental type of weapon, re-introduced in South-Eastern Europe during the fifteenth century due to the conflicts with the Turks. This points to the fact that the tile did not follow western patterns but was created locally, in a schematic, popular manner, giving way to speculations as to the post-Byzantine iconography it reflects. Since stove tiles were a German development, their iconography usually follows the western visual tradition, but in some regions, such as Walachia which was largely Orthodox and less influenced by the Occident, motifs on stove tiles sometimes show post-Byzantine and oriental influences. I have suggested elsewhere that the tile might be analyzed in the context of devil-slayers on Byzantine amulets.[73]

The anatomy of these devils is relevant for the analysis of the function of devilish images. The first descriptions of Satan as human-like, often ridiculous creature, have appeared in Western Europe around year 1000, when the high theological tradition about the demon mixed with the popular representations of it.[74] The above-mentioned stove tiles present the devils as hybrid creatures, human-like looking but having animal body parts, such as horns, tails and pointy ears, hoofs/fish tails, and wings. In tile iconography, devils are thus represented in a classical and not very inventive manner, maintaining a familiar human shape with animal elements only pointing to their true nature.

Despite the fact that Muchembled argues for an intensification of the devil's power towards the end of the Middle Ages and an increase in macabre representations, the

71 Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 23, cat. 38.
72 Gruia 2004–2007, fig. W2, with the bibliography.
73 Gruia 2004–2007, 633.
74 Muchembled 2002, 23.

tile material offers no such indication. The depictions of devils are rare on tiles in the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries, as the few examples analyzed here attest; they never feature alone but are part of certain iconographic scenes; the demons generally maintain a familiar, humanoid anatomy; the demonic creatures and the demons themselves are rather powerless, defeated by the saints or trying in vain to win over human souls. Even the fact that these devils are smaller than the saints points to their weakness. The tile in Bern is an exception and bears a more macabre symbolism, with the demon as large as the punished woman and clearly more powerful than her.

Possible functions of macabre depictions on stove tiles

The violent/macabre and demonological depictions on tiles discussed above might have functioned as means of protecting buildings, their interiors, and their inhabitants. I have argued elsewhere that indeed there is sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis of an apotropaic function of several representations on medieval stove tiles (magical signs and symbols, orant figures, open hands, two-tailed sirens etc.).[75] According to this paradigm, the images of devils on tiles might have been intended to repel actual demons by representations of themselves or by distracting them from their evil intentions with 'interesting images.' According to Ruth Mellinkoff,[76] apotropaic depictions were meant to be seen by demons and worked by distracting or frightening them through various monsters and violent scenes and would not attack the interior space thus defended. Following the lines of this argument, the need to display images that would repel demons and protect the inhabitants supports the existence of a popular belief in the omnipresence of such demons and the belief in the power of images to be effective against them.

Still, though presumably intended to be seen by demons and not people, the tiles analyzed here do betray people's popular vision of macabre, violence and Evil. The images of devilish monsters, scenes of violence, and actual depictions of demons on tiles can be used to substantiate some conclusions on the popular conception of evil deeds and creatures (part of the 'common tradition').

There is certain ambiguity about the power of the Devil, in his many forms. Representations on stove tiles indicate that their medieval beholders did believe demons and violence existed and surrounded them. Satan was sometimes depicted as powerful in scenes such as the horned griffin attacking a soldier, the serpent tempting Eve and causing the Original Sin, and especially the she-devil riding and beating a woman. But these are clearly exceptions and there are more numerous cases in which the evil creatures are defeated and weak. The dragon is subdued by saints or other creatures, the manticore is under attack, and small devils try in vain to win over human souls. In scenes of violence, the characters are on the point of harming each other but not actually doing so, the tense situations being liable to a macabre interpretation only if their viewers could *fill in the story*, based on their previous knowledge, imagining the gruesome inflictions and deaths that ended the episodes. If not, these depictions could be interpreted as rendering 'entertaining' or moralizing details such as hair pulling. Hair and beard pulling also features on earlier medieval marginal depictions (corbels, misericords) and have been interpreted as possibly

[75] Gruia 2010; Gruia 2011, with the bibliography of the topic.

[76] Mellinkoff 2004, 45–51.

moralizing. Pulling another's bear or hair in a fight might betray the sins of anger, pride, or envy (as long hair was since the early Middle Ages a sign of power and elite position).[77] Hair pulling, thrashing, especially naked bottom beatings, and transgressions are best discussed in the context of Bakhtin's abuse as the most ancient forms of ambivalent negative imagery, as elements of freedom, symbolic death, and regeneration through laughter.[78]

One can also note that some of the representations in question associate evil with sexuality or women. The serpent tempting Eve has the head of a woman, the devil riding a woman has breasts, and the man-eating manticore is represented with an oversized erect penis. Women and men reverse their roles and wives are depicted beating their spouses. These latter tile images can also be interpreted as transmitting a moralizing message, though they were probably outright amusing as well.

It seems therefore that stove tiles, as key elements of interior decoration in private, public, and even religious buildings, were delegate 'lighter' subject matter. Their iconography did not place great accent on the fear of death or the power of demons. Tiles discussed here are far less numerous than those decorated with heraldic, vegetal and geometric, or religious images, especially figures of saints,[79] apparently contradicting the generally accepted *explosion* of macabre motifs after the middle of the fourteenth century.[80] Still, some of the more macabre depictions feature on tiles dated to the sixteenth century such as Judith/Salome with severed male heads and a few *memento mori*-type scenes, of reclining figures accompanied by skulls. But even if not so overtly macabre, tiles do concur with other sources in suggesting a late medieval concern with violence and evil. The devilish monsters, conflict scenes, and demons visible on tiles might have had a didactic role, teaching people of the dangers surrounding them and of possible punishments; their religious message might have been to make people repent or refrain from sin, reminding them of the punishments to follow, of the Devil trying to prevent the salvation of souls through cheating (such as in the scene with Archangel Michael weighing souls, or the serpent tempting Eve) or torturing the sinful (as in the image with the she-devil riding a woman). But these images might have served another purpose as well. They might have been (also) intended to ensure magic protection, by chasing away any demon which might set its eyes on them, thus working as apotropaic representations. Depicting weak and powerless monsters and demons might have constituted an attempt of making them ineffective.

As for the social contexts in which the tiles under discussion here were used, most are upper contexts, namely castles, some are religious contexts (monasteries), and even a lower social context such as town and village houses, but this matches the general distribution of medieval stove tiles, following their general top-down social transmission. Still, this pattern might also be connected to the hypothesis that people from upper social contexts where the *learned* viewers, more likely to know the background/literary sources and the cultural references of the depictions. Still, the purely entertaining role (an indirect function) of the images on tiles must also be taken into consideration and they can be included in the wider debate on the role of marginal images.

[77] Benton 2004, 100–101.

[78] Bakhtin 1984, 187, 411.

[79] Gruia 2013.

[80] Delumeau 1997, 112–129.

Future studies should compare the representations on stove tiles, as valuable source material for the study of popular mentality and belief in the late Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe, to macabre scenes and demons visible on contemporary wall paintings, altars, sculptures, manuscripts and other artistic contexts in the region, elaborating a general study on the development of the Devil's popular construction and the sense of macabre shared by the medieval people on various social levels. Several examples can be found in the existing bibliography, but a comprehensive picture is not yet available.[81]

Conclusions

Images on stove tiles could have fulfilled several functions, sometimes overlapping, and it is impossible to identify them with certainty in the absence of written sources recording the intention and reception of such depictions. Still, analyzing them in the context of other marginal images and inferring their possible functions from principles of medieval thought, the analyzed images are not as macabre as those on other artistic supports. They might have conveyed a stronger message for the learned audience who could sense the tension in the images by knowing the (not depicted) actual violence or the deadly outcome of the stories. Even in this case, the depictions might have had a moralizing role, providing visual illustrations of the unwanted outcome of sin (pride, anger, gender/sexual deviance from the norm, heretical religious beliefs). Some tiles, such as the Hussite ones, might have been part of the official religious propaganda. The macabre scenes might have been apotropaic in nature, intended to repel devils and evil spirits by depictions of themselves (especially as weak creatures), by frightening them with depictions of strong evil creatures, or by distracting them with 'interesting' images (if scholarly reconstructions of the principles behind medieval protective magic are correct). In this paradigm, the analyzed lot of macabre images on stove tiles betrays the late medieval belief in the omnipresence of demons and spirits and provide an edifying incursion into what medieval beholders held to be 'interesting,' revealing the entertaining character of the popular visual elements on stove tiles: hair pulling, women on top, brawls and fights. Even if (also) moralizing or apotropaic, most of the macabre depictions under discussion must have been fun to watch, possibly like present-day action movies with comical overtones. In Bakhtin's paradigm, such scenes are to be included in the world of carnival, of festive reversal, and of symbolic death and renewal through laughter.

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[81] On paintings, sculptures, and manuscript illuminations from Medieval Hungary, see Tatai 2006. Still, the study lacks structure and conclusions.

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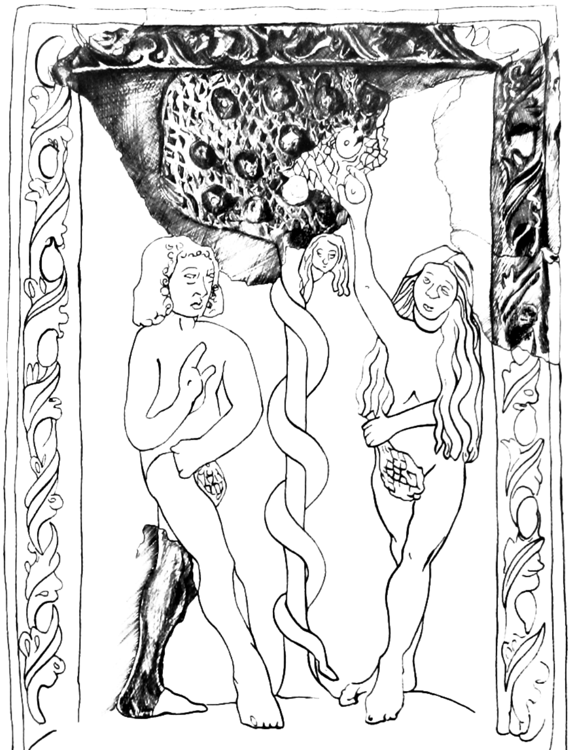

Fig. 2. Adam and Eve besides the Tree of Knowledge. Stove tile, fifteenth century, Ružica castle (taken from Radić, Bojčić 2004, 297, cat. 623).

Fig. 3. Joab and Amasa. Polychrome stove tile from the beginning of the sixteenth century, Klaštorisko (taken from www.klastorisko.sk, accessed May 2007).

Fig. 4. Judith and Holofernes. Painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder and tile fragments from Cluj and Vințu de Jos. (taken from (left to right): https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Lucas_Cranach_d.%C3%84._-_Judith_im_Zelt_des_Holofernes_(1531,_Schloss_Friedenstein).jpg, accessed August 2020; photograph by A.-M. Gruia, item in the collection of the MNIT; Marcu Istrate 2004, 286, 497, fig. 158.68a–c.)

Fig. 5. St. Ladislas chasing the Cuman. Stove tile, fifteenth century, town house in Baia (Moldavia) (taken from Batariuc 1999, 260, fig. 63.6).

Fig. 6. Fight over the backgammon board, tile from the castle of Moravské Budějovice, second half of the fifteenth century (taken from Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 70, cat. 212).

Fig. 7. Woman beating a man with a broom on a tile from Bern, from the second half of the fifteenth century (taken from Roth Kaufmann, Buschor, Gutscher 1994, 146–147, cat. 104).

Fig. 8. Woman riding and whipping a man on a tile from Csábrág fortification, from the beginning of the sixteenth century (taken from Rakonczay 2020, 41, fig. 9.).

Fig. 9. She-devil riding a woman. Stove tile, second half of the fourteenth century, Bern (taken from Kaufmann, Buschor, Gutscher 1994, 124, cat. 60).

Fig. 10. Archangel Michael weighing souls on a stove tile from Polná, dated around 1500 (taken from Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 32, cat. 84).

Fig. 11. The Temptation of Christ on a tile from Olomouc, dated to the sixteenth century (taken from Menoušková, Měřínský 2008, 23, cat. 38).

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ROMANIAN FUNDS AND FOUNDATIONS IN TRANSYLVANIA THAT SUPPORTED THE PHENOMENON OF *PEREGRINATIO ACCADEMICA* (THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES)

HORAȚIU BODALE[*]

Abstract: In the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, many young Romanians from Transylvania went to the universities of the Habsburg Empire, but also to universities in France, Germany, Switzerland, or Italy. For material academic support, they resorted to the foundations and funds established by the Greek-Catholic Church and the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Transylvania, as well as by banking institutions or private individuals. The amount of scholarships varied depending on the number of years of study and the city where the young scholars were studying. After graduation, most of these youth returned to Transylvania, where they either practiced liberal professions such as medicine or law, or became teachers in Romanian high schools. These young people, trained at prestigious European universities, later formed the Romanian political and intellectual elite in Transylvania.

Keywords: fund, foundation, stipend, Romanians, Transylvania

Rezumat: În a doua jumătate a secolului XIX şi începutul secolului XX, numeroşi tineri români din Transilvania au plecat spre universitățile din Imperiul Habsburgic, dar şi spre universităţi din Franţa, Germania, Elveţia sau Italia. Pentru susţinerea materială pe perioada cursurilor universitare au apelat la fundaţiile şi fondurile înfiinţate de Biserica Greco-Catolică şi Mitropolia Ortodoxă din Transilvania, dar şi de instituţii bancare sau persoane particulare. Cuantumul burselor varia în funcţie de numărul anilor de studiu şi de oraşul unde studia tânărul alumn. După încheierea cursurilor universitare majoritatea absolvenţilor s-au întors în Transilvania unde fie au practicat meserii liberale precum cea de medic sau advocate, fie au devenit profesori în cadrul liceelor româneşti. Aceşti tineri, formaţi la prestigioase universităţi europene, au format mai târziu elita politică şi intelectuală românească din Transilvania.

Cuvinte cheie: fond, fundaţie, stipendiu, români, Transilvania

Even after the establishment of the modern universities in Iaşi and Bucharest, in the Principalities, and of the one in Cluj, in Transylvania, many young Romanians attended Western universities or those in Central Europe. The motivation of this phenomenon of *peregrinatio accademica* can be captured from the perspective of the goals set by both those individuals, eager to become students in a foreign university, and by their families. Those goals were among the most diverse, but several typologies could be discerned. Foremost was the desire of intellectual training in an environment deemed to be conducive to educational and scientific development and personal growth. Next was postgraduate social

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affirmation, stemming from prestige granted by a university degree obtained abroad. Other motivational factors for those who went to study abroad were the need to know in depth the Western society, which could offer a redeeming model for the developing Romanian society in Transylvania, and the affirmation of a distinct identity.[1]

In the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Transylvanian Romanian students headed mostly for the universities of Austria and Hungary, but they could also be found in universities in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. After the establishment of Franz Josef University in Cluj, in 1872, some Romanians enrolled in this higher education institution, being financially supported with scholarships by various foundations and funds.

The living expenses of young students varied depending on the city and the country where they studied. Their main expenses concerned the round-trip transport fee to and from the city where they were enrolled, study fees, rent, food and clothing, classes and books, as well as bachelor and doctoral exams. In large cities such as Vienna, Budapest, Berlin or Paris, the sums needed were higher than in provincial cities such as Graz, Debrecen, Padua, Pavia, and Bonn. Generally speaking, the amount required for a year of study started from 300 florins in smaller towns and could reach 500 florins at universities in the major European capitals.[2]

A special case was that of students on scholarships attending the theology institutes in Rome. Benefiting from four and then five scholarships[3] awarded by the Holy See in 1854 to the young Greek-Catholic Romanians in Transylvania, the Greek-Catholic Romanian Metropolitanate of Alba Iulia and Făgăraş undertook to bear the transport costs to Rome and back through the suffragan dioceses. The sum was 300 florins and had to be guaranteed. The 150 florins needed by the students to return to the homeland were deposited in the cash register of the rector of the College of 'Saint Athanasius' in Rome.[4] The rest of the maintenance expenses, plus the university fees, went to the Vatican. Romanian students were accommodated in the rooms of the Greek College, ate at the same college and benefited from the rich library. They attended university studies either at the College of Propaganda Fide or at the Gregorian University.[5]

Unfortunately, not infrequently in the second half of the nineteenth century, some of the five places remained vacant due to the impossibility of the Greek-Catholic dioceses in Transylvania to cover the 300 florins.[6]

As for the scholarships supported directly by institutions or persons from the Romanian area, the most important were the foundations created by the two Romanian Transylvanian churches.

The Romanian Greek-Catholic Church managed both foundations created by high prelates of the church and those established by private individuals, which later passed under

[1] Năstasă 2006, 73–78.

[2] Sigmirean 2000, 229.

[3] ACG, Fondo Collegio Greco(ruteno) XIX secolo, file 238, doc. Regole del Pontificio Collegio Greco e Ruteno, 4r–5r.

[4] DJA AN, Mitropolia Greco-Catolică Unită de Alba-Iulia şi Făgăraş Fonds, Registered documents, file 4294/1905, 1.

[5] ACG, Fondo Collegio Greco(ruteno) XIX secolo, file 162, 1.

[6] DJA AN, Mitropolia Greco-Catolică Unită de Alba-Iulia şi Făgăraş Fonds, Registered documents, file 3679/1877, 1r–2r.

ecclesiastical tutelage, according to the wills of their founders. The main Greek-Catholic institution whose primary goal was to offer scholarships to young Transylvanian Romanians eager to study was the Romanţai foundation. It respected the will of Simion Romanţai and awarded annual scholarships to Greek-Catholics who wanted to be trained in European universities, studying law, medicine or philosophy. The amount of each scholarship was 300 florins and was renewed on a yearly basis, depending on the academic performance of each scholar.[7]

Besides this foundation, there were a number of similar bodies, which had been founded by prelates of the Greek-Catholic Church, such as Alexandru Sterca Şuluţiu, Victor Mihaly, Ioan Vancea, Simion Crainic, Constantin Alutan, Constantin Papfalvi, Fekete Negruţiu and Iuliu Bardoşi. At the end of the nineteenth century, there were about 35 foundations in Blaj that provided scholarships for both higher and secondary education. By imposing a set of rigorous conditions for granting these scholarships, such as religion, learning results or knowledge of a foreign language, Blaj supported financially 30 academic scholarships and about 150 high-school scholarships at the beginning of the twentieth century. The most numerous academic study grants were given to people studying in Cluj, Budapest and Vienna, but also in Zűrich, Graz or Schemnitz. Most were scholarships for law studies, followed by medicine, letters and philosophy, and to a lesser degree, polytechnic studies.[8]

Stipendiary foundations functioned also within the Greek-Catholic bishops of Gherla, Lugoj or Oradea during this period. Thus, in Lugoj there were foundations such as Iova, Stoina, Ştefan Moldovan where there are 8 academic scholarships. 7 scholarships were supported in Oradea, and in Gherla 15.

The Orthodox Church in Transylvania also showed a clear concern for the financial support of young people who expressed their desire to study in prestigious educational institutions. Thus, through the Sidoxial Fund or the 'Franz Joseph' foundation (the latter was founded by Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna), scholarships were bestowed upon to those who attended theological studies at the University of Leipzig.[9]

A distinct case among the Romanian Transylvanian foundations was that of the Năsăud border funds. Their peculiarity was due to the fact that they were not formed as a result of individual testamentary desire or by the goodwill of a hierarch, but as a result of an important land inheritance generated by the 44 border communities in the Năsăud area. The abolition of all border regiments in Transylvania on 22 January 1851 left behind important movable and immovable assets, whose administration required the setting up of specific institutions. Regarding the granting of scholarships to the sons of the former Năsăud border guards, eager to study at various European universities, a Fund of stipends was established. After 1851, this fund passed under the direct control of the state, which decided to cover the expenses of the Pedagogical High School in Năsăud, amounting to 2,400 florins annually. The administrative committee protested for years against this interference and managed to re-claim some of the former assets of the fund after 1861. Subsequently, the fund's assets grew both through the acquisition of new income-generating land and through various exchanges of properties.

[7] SJC AN, Capitlul Metropolitan Blaj Fonds, Testament of Simion Romanzai, 3r – 4r.

[8] Sigmirean 2000, 232–234.

[9] Păcurariu 1986, 44.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Fund of stipends had reached its maximum economic expansion and owned:

1. Rodna – the lease of Mount Crăciunel
2. Valea Vinului – the mineral baths [*scaldele minerale*] and an inn [*ospătărie*]
3. Cârlibaba – land plots with constructions for pubs, as well as land with pastures and forests
4. Coşna – 930 forest *iugăre* [from the Latin *jugerum*] and 8 *fireze* [literary 'saws,' referring to woodland areas]
5. Cristur Şieu – land plots with constructions and pastures, meadows or forests
6. Năsăud – a house with a garden and a yard.[10]

The Fund directly managed only part of its assets, another part being leased or conceded through public auctions. In addition to direct exploitation, another source of economic profit came from interest on capital investments, placed in state-owned and private bonds or in bank assets.

The revenue of the fund increased steadily over time, so while in 1877 the revenues amounted to 6,200 florins, the professionalization of the administration methods enhanced that sum to 97,518 kroner by 1918. The amount of expenditure never exceeded the revenues, except for the period 1911–1918. These expenses consisted mainly of the payment of grants and aids to descendants of the border guards who were provided with various forms of education. Scholarships were awarded following a competition, and the money came from the costs of maintaining and guarding forests, buildings and other types of real estate, but also from the taxes on the salaries of the administrative commission and from special funds.[11]

In almost 60 years (1861–1918), 2,977 scholarships and school aids were granted from the fund's revenues. Their total value amounted to 217,897 florins and 433,308 kroner.[12] In 1865, the annual amount of the scholarships was set at 200 florins for universities in Transylvania and 400 florins for those outside it. The recipients of those scholarships assumed the obligation to submit annual school documents revealing their study results, based on which the recommendation was made for the funding of their stipends for the next academic year.

In higher education there was a total of 1,117 scholarships. They were distributed on study profiles as follows: 322 law studies, 244 philosophy, 247 medicine, 7 pharmacy, 39 polytechnic, 61 mining, forestry and logging, 27 agronomy, 14 veterinary medicine, 34 commercial academies, 9 post and telegraph, 21 notarial courses, 68 theology, 8 higher pedagogy, 15 fine arts and 1 conservatory.[13]

The fact that most of these stipends were granted for law studies, philosophy and medicine begs the conclusion that the Hungarian state's reluctance to integrate young Romanian graduates into the state system determined them to turn mainly to liberal professions such as medicine or the law. As regards philosophical studies, on the one hand,

[10] Ureche 2001, 49.

[11] Ureche 2001, 50.

[12] The law on the introduction of the kroner in Hungary to the detriment of the Austrian florin, passed in 1892, was to be applied progressively until 1899.

[13] Ureche 2001, 149.

intellectual training, according to the general perception of those times, had to include strong philosophical training, and on the other hand, there was a practical necessity to form a competent teaching body for the Romanian high school in Năsăud.

Well-organized from a statutory point of view, benefiting from constant and consistent incomes, as well as from profitable investments and a medium- and long-term stipendiary policy, the Năsăud Fund of stipends supported the formation of the Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals, who became aware of their role within a society that was about to be modernized.

One of the foundations that were committed to offering financial support to young Romanians eager to study at different universities was the 'Emanuil Gojdu' Foundation.[14] In his will of 1869, Gojdu left much of his wealth to a foundation of stipends that would provide material support to young people of Orthodox religion. The will stipulated that the funds should be administered by a commission consisting of the Metropolitan of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania, the two bishops of Arad and Caransebeş and six civilian members elected from among Romanian personalities, whose selection was to be supervised by Melania Gojdu. Andrei Şaguna, Procopie Ivacicovici, Ioan Popasu, Ioan Aldulean, Ioan Puşcariu, Ioan Faur, Dionisie Poienar, George Mocioni, and Nicolae Ioanovici formed the first commission set up after the death of Emanoil Gojdu (3 February 1870). The commission proceeded to implement the will and created the Gojdu Foundation, which began to grant stipends in 1871.

The capital of the foundation consisted of a series of movable and real estate assets with an estimated value of 178,065 florins in 1871. Due to a careful administration and judicious investments, the wealth of the Gojdu Foundation grew steadily. Thus, by 1895, it amounted to 1,702,097 florins, and to 8,390,704 kroner in 1917. Successive mergers with other foundations contributed to the increase of these funds, and during the First World War they contributed a considerable sum[15] to the war loan.[16]

According to the Foundation Letters, on which the stipendiary activity was based, the stipends consisted of 300 florins for those who studied at the academies in Transylvania, 400–500 florins for those who went to study at the universities of the Empire and 400 florins for the students of military schools.

The scholarship could be withdrawn if the young man lost the endorsement of his national church, gave up his studies, won a stipend from another foundation, completed his studies, did not sit his exams on time or did not pass them, or committed certain immoral acts.

To have their school records verified, stipend recipients had the obligation to send the commission their grades at the end of the school year, by 15 September each year, if they wished to receive the stipend for the next academic year as well. For the first year of scholarship, applications were sent through the dioceses to the Metropolitanate of Sibiu, accompanied by an extract from the baptism register confirming the Orthodox religion of the applicant, a document issued by the town hall regarding the social status of the parents and the applicant's graduation certificate.[17]

[14] Cordoş, Jude 1989–1993 (1994), 573–590.

[15] About 400,000 kroner.

[16] Bereny 1995, 21.

[17] Bereny 1995, 20.

Between 1871 and 1918, the Emanuil Gojdu Foundation awarded 3,776 scholarships and aids for high school and university students, for diploma and doctoral fees. Of these, 960 scholarships were for higher education. Many were awarded to those studying law, namely 410 stipends; 210 went to those who wished to study medicine; there were 79 grants to students of letters and philosophy, 16 went to student of commerce and economic studies and 177 to those who received training in the fields of mining, forestry and polytechnics.[18]

After 1900, there was a substantial increase in the stipends awarded for medical studies, to the detriment of other specialties. For the academic year 1913/1914, there were 76 scholarships for medical students, while only 26 stipends were awarded to law students. Substantial sums were provided for *rigurus* and doctoral exams. Annually, at the beginning of the twentieth century, ten-fifteen scholars supported by the foundation defended their doctoral dissertations at universities in the Empire but also outside its borders.[19]

The majority of the 'Gojdu' scholars attended higher education institutes from Austria, Hungary and Transylvania, or the universities of Cluj, Budapest and Vienna, but 168 young Transylvanian Romanians studied in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium or France. Many leading personalities of the Romanian interwar period were former grantees of the Gojdu Foundation, including Victor Babeş, Octavian Goga, Silviu Dragomir, Ioan Lupaş, Traian Vuia, Aurel Vlad, Virgil Onițiu, Virgil Nemoianu and Constantin Daicoviciu.

ASTRA played an essential role in providing financial support to Romanian students from Transylvania. Between 1860 and 1918, the funds and foundations administered by ASTRA granted over 500 study scholarships and aid. Some of these were intended for those who attended higher education institutions, while others went to those who enrolled in vocational and training schools.

While prior to 1893, the distribution of stipends on study levels was balanced, after this year the funds were mainly directed towards secondary and vocational education. Funding of scholarships for higher education was resumed after 1906. Aurel Isac, Andrei Bârseanu, Elie Dăianu, Iuliu Hațeganu, Victor Babeş and Aron Cotruş were among Astra's scholars.[20] The most important foundations administered by Astra that awarded stipends to Transylvanian Romanians were: 'Petran,' 'Ioan Olteanu,' 'G. Fillep,' 'I. Bădilă,' 'I. Moldovan,' 'N. Marinovici,' 'Gallianu,' 'G. Boieriu,' and 'Dobâca.'

In addition to the financial support provided by the foundations, Romanians also benefited from stipendiary funding from prosperous Romanian families that assumed a patronage role. One of the most famous families was the Mocioni family. During the liberal period of Austrian government, the Mocionis offered aid to those who wanted to study outside Transylvania.[21] The stipends amounted to 300 florins for those who studied in Vienna, 200 for those in Pest and 100 florins for those attending higher gymnasiums.[22] Between 1860 and 1870, the Mocioni family supported about 240 scholarships. Among those who benefited from them were Coriolan Bredicianu, Pavel Rotariu, and Victor Babeş.

[18] Sigmirean 2000, 242.
[19] Sigmirean 2000, 242.
[20] Sigmirean 2000, 244.
[21] Cipăianu 1979, 429–446.
[22] Cipăianu 1979, 429–446.

Under various forms, such as loans, donations or participations, the Romanian Transylvanian banks also backed the effort of young Romanians who wished to study at universities in the Empire or outside it. Thus, banks such as 'Ardeleana,' 'Albina,' 'Bistriţeana,' 'Coroana' or 'Economul' provided funds for various Romanian student societies, but also direct support for the payment of some expenses (meals, accommodation).

An overview of the Transylvanian Romanians' *peregrinatio accademica* indicates that their desire to study at prestigious European universities was supported, most of the time, through funds and foundations created by the two Romanian churches, financial institutions or private initiatives. All of them were aware of the importance of forming a well-trained Romanian intellectual elite, which was also directly involved in the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, assuming a decisive leadership role.

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THE DAILY LIFE OF TRANSYLVANIAN ROMANIANS IN ASTRA'S PREOCCUPATIONS. CASE STUDIES: *TRANSILVANIA* MAGAZINE (1868–1914)[*]

ALEXANDRU NICOLAESCU[**]

Abstract: The present research is organized in two parts. In the first part we briefly presented the moment when the cultural societies of the nationalities of the Habsburg Monarchy appeared, with a more pronounced emphasis on that of the Romanians. In the second part we presented the most significant contributions of ASTRA regarding its involvement in knowing and improving the daily life of Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In our enterprise we relied largely on the research published in the official journal of the mentioned cultural society, but also on other works supported and published under its auspices. Also, in drafting the article we used the existing specialized literature.

Keywords: ASTRA, *Transilvania*, press, Romanians, Austro-Hungarian Empire

Rezumat: Cercetarea de față se axează pe două paliere. În prima parte, am prezentat pe scurt momentul în care au apărut societățile culturale ale naționalităților din Monarhia Habsburgică, cu un accent mai pronunțat asupra celei a românilor. În a doua parte, am redat cele mai semnificative contribuții ale Astrei referitoare la implicarea ei în cunoașterea și îmbunătățirea vieții cotidiene a românilor din Imperiul Austro-Ungar. În întreprinderea noastră, ne-am bazat în mare parte pe cercetările publicate în revista oficială a societății culturale amintite, dar și pe alte lucrări susținute și publicate sub egida ei. De asemenea, în realizarea articolului am folosit bibliografia de specialitate existentă.

Cuvinte cheie: ASTRA, *Transilvania*, presă, români, Imperiul Austro-Ungar

Introduction

The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (better known as ASTRA) was the most representative cultural organization of Romanians in Transylvania, bringing together the most important people of culture, but also the political leaders of the period. Having as main goal the cultural development of the Romanians in Transylvania, it did not evade the researches regarding the standard of living, considering that they could not pretend the involvement of the Romanian peasants in the cultural life, if they did not enjoy a financial comfort. Wanting

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to take a stand on the less beneficial aspects and to help improve the living conditions of the Transylvanian Romanians from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the most important representatives of the intellectual elite expressed themselves in the body press release of the cultural society, suggestively called *Transilvania*.[1] The magazine was first published on 1 January 1868 in Brașov, whose chief editor was George Barițiu, a prominent personality of the Romanians from the nineteenth century. *Transilvania* was the ASTRA's official organ. The magazine was an interdisciplinary one, appearing first bi-monthly, then only once a month. It was also the longest-lived Romanian publication, which appeared with a very short interruption between 1868 and 1946, and since 1972 it has continued to appear until nowadays. In addition to publishing the aforementioned magazine, ASTRA also supported the publication of several books and brochures in its own collections.

In order to have a clearer picture of what is going to be presented, we will make brief references to the terms most often used. ASTRA was the most representative cultural association of Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, founded in 1861 in Sibiu. In the period 1861–1914, it also fully supported the political actions of the Romanians. Regarding the areas inhabited by Romanians within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they were: Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, and Bukovina. When we talk about the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, most of the time we will refer to those from Transylvania (also known as Ardeal – a region bordered by the Carpathian Mountains and surrounded by Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, and the Old Kingdom of Romania). We will use the term Hungary to refer to the Hungarian-administered part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the so-called Transleithania.

The comparative analysis is organized on two levels. The first refers to what ASTRA wanted to improve in the behavior of Transylvanian Romanians and what differences there were between it and the other cultural societies in the Habsburg Monarchy. The next part consists of concrete examples given by the analysis and the presentation of the way in which ASTRA's own publications dealt with various subjects concerning the Romanians' way of living. Our research is largely based on ASTRA's publications from 1868 to 1914, trying to approach them from a critical perspective. Also, in conducting the study we used an extensive bibliography, most of which appeared during the research period.[2]

ASTRA's resemblance to the cultural societies of the Austro–Hungarian Empire[3]

If we take into consideration the period when ASTRA was founded, we find that it came into being during a difficult time. The period 1860–1868 was one of extreme agitation in the Habsburg Empire, especially in the political realm. The events led to relaxation and effervescence regarding the cultural initiative.[4] Initially, following the patency of 8/20 October 1860, the Habsburg Empire adopted a liberal constitutional regime. It was reinforced by the patent of 14/16 February 1861, which consisted of the adoption of the principle of federalism and of the recognition of the autonomy of the Principality of

[1] For more details about the evolution of *Transilvania* magazine during 1868–1918, see Nicolaescu 2018.

[2] For a historiographical analysis of the subject, see Nicolaescu 2014, 89–101; Nicolaescu 2018, 26–36.

[3] This issue was extensively treated in Nicolaescu 2018, 36–45.

[4] Maior 2006, 280.

Transylvania, while Banat, Crișana and Maramureș became part of Hungary.[5] The two patents also introduced a series of rights and freedoms, such as the equality of citizens before the law, guaranteeing religious freedoms, the right of assembly, dismantling internal customs, but also the obligation of all citizens to pay taxes to the state and undergo military duty.[6] After the completion of the Dualist Pact and the appearance of Austria-Hungary in 1867, Transylvania's autonomy was cancelled, the province being annexed to Hungary.[7] It should be noted that between 1860 and 1867, a radical change in the life and social behavior of peasants took place in Transylvania by making them landowners (phenomenon particularly found among Romanians). It was one of the reasons that guided Romanians towards supporting culture and cultural societies.[8]

The Romanians from the Habsburg Empire/Austro-Hungarian Empire managed to create, in time, their cultural institutions even if the political context was not a favorable one. Other nationalities from the Empire created their own cultural societies, for example Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Czechs, Croats, and Ruthenians established the so-called Matica. First, Matica Srpska was established in 1826.[9] Later, it was founded in Pest by Serbs traders in 1864 and moved to Novi Sad.[10] While functioning in Pest, it published the official journal *Lejtopis* which was mainly interested in the development of Serbian literature, and it popularized the contributions of some of the most outstanding cultural Serbian figures of the period.[11] Matica Srpska published the magazine *Higurashi* (1865–1870) which dealt with national-political topics, written especially for 'young Serbs.' Using the same model of organization, Czechs founded in 1831 their own cultural society, which in 1832 published *Časopis českého musea* ('The Journal of Czech Museum'). The publication was purely scientific, helping Czech intellectuals to popularize their ideas.[12]

The Slovaks made a sustained effort until they managed to set up their own cultural institution Matica Slovenska which appeared in 1863.[13] It would be dissolved in 1875 by the Hungarian authorities, but the Slovakians did not give up and in 1895 the Slovak Museum Society was founded.[14] From 1864, Matica Slovenska published the official press organ *Letopis Matice slovenskej* ('The Annals of Matica Slovenska') edited by Frantisek Sasinek.[15]

Other cultural societies of the nationalities from the Austro-Hungarian Empire were also created. We can mention the Croats' Matica Illyrian founded in Zagreb in 1842 with the official press organ *Kolo* (1842–1850) and the Poles's Matica Poland organized in 1882 in Lvov.[16]

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[5] Platon 1985, 204; For more details regarding the legislation of the Habsburg Empire/Austro-Hungarian Empire during the period 1860–1918 see Gräf 2019, 136–138; 153–157.

[6] Pop et alii 2008, 404.

[7] Constantinescu, Daicoviciu 1970, 378.

[8] Berindei 2003, 724.

[9] Stajić, S.-W. 1928, 593–602. For more details about Matica Srpska, see Kimball 1973, 12–21.

[10] Curticăpeanu 1968, 13–14.

[11] Stokers 1987, 1000–1001.

[12] Prokeš 1931, 423–424; For more details about Czech Matica, see Kimball 1973, 21–39.

[13] Lupaș 1944, 309–315; Mruškovič 1989, 9–33; Kirschbaum 1995, 133–138.

[14] Johnson 1985, 38–39; For more details about Matica Slovenska see Kimball 1973, 49–63.

[15] Kirschbaum 1995, 135–136.

[16] Curticăpeanu 1968, 13–15. For more details about Croats' Matica, see 39–49. For Matica Poland, see Kimball 1973, 75–76.

All the above-mentioned cultural associations had in common the promotion of languages, history and literature of the nationalities they represented. This was to be achieved with the help of its own publications, printed books and libraries. Undoubtedly, the most important cultural societies of the Habsburg Empire/Austro-Hungarian Empire were those of the Serbs, Slovaks and Romanians. This was due to the fact that they managed to solidarize the ones they addressed to, especially around the topics of national interest. Even if the Czechs, Croatians and Poles created their own cultural societies, they did not have the success of the first ones because they failed to attract the support of the people to whom their addressed to.[17]

Apart from the obvious similarity with Matics, the organizational pattern of ASTRA resembled also that of the most representative cultural associations of the Hungarian and Saxons of Transylvania: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület ('The Transylvanian Museum Society'),[18] founded in 1859 at Cluj and Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde[19] ('The Association for Transylvania Research') which appeared in 1840 at Sibiu. Relying on its turn on the model of Matics,[20] the Hungarian cultural society was organized in four scientific sections: philosophy, language, history, science (natural, medical, legal and sociology), fulfilling the role of an academic institution. Some scientific results were published in the main magazine of the society, entitled *Erdélyi Múzeum*.[21] All these scientific bodies were found in ASTRA's structure. The members of the Saxon cultural society dealt exclusively with scientific work as debating political events were strictly prohibited. The results of the scientific enterprises were published in the journal *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. Between 1878 and 1941 the magazine *Korrespondenz-blatt des Vereins für Siebenbürghische Landeskunde* was published along with it.[22] The idea of not discussing political issues will appear in ASTRA's statutes of organization,[23] which testifies to the exchange of ideas between the two cultural associations, an obvious fact if one considers that the Saxons' and the Romanians' associations had common members.

Undoubtedly, ASTRA and its official press organ were influenced by the cultural societies of Hungarians and Saxons in Transylvania, more than by Maticas. This was a natural evolution since the first two issues dealt with issues regarding the intra-Carpathian space, issues that concerned all its inhabitants. *Transilvania* magazine republished often articles from Saxon and Hungarian newspapers, some translated into Romanian and others in the original languages in which they were written.

The cultural activism of the society based in Sibiu replaced the passivity tactics, consisting of boycotting the elections and parliamentary life in Hungary that was adopted by the Romanian political elite after the administrative incorporation of Transylvania in Hungary. ASTRA transformed its branches from towns and villages into channels of interaction between political and intellectual elite and rural residents.[24] In this regard, the

[17] Maior 2008, 93.

[18] For more details about the Transylvanian Museum Society, see Török 2016, 136–156, 188–204.

[19] For more details see Török 2016, 62–76, 117–137, 164–188.

[20] Kirschbaum 1995, 135–136; Török 2016, 21–22, 156–157.

[21] Pop et alii 2008, 574.

[22] Niedermaier 2006, 14–15.

[23] Asociațiunea 1862, 3.

[24] Maior 2008, 95–97; Bolovan 2018, 4–9.

official journal of ASTRA tried to get deep into rural world and thus, it tailored the language of its materials to be easily understood by its rural readers. Furthermore, in its articles, the journal considered topics that were of great interest for the Romanian peasantry. Differentiating itself from other German cultural societies which were more aristocratic and designed for salon talks, the Romanian associations in Transylvania focused on strong cultural-political objectives, aiming to cultivate a militant spirit that was based on studying the past and traditions. By studying these topics, it aimed to individualize Romanians in Austro-Hungarian Empire. Also, it is important to mention that ASTRA's members were mostly clergymen, lawyers, professors, teachers, functionaries, merchants, landlords and peasants, but also almost all social categories were represented in its ranks.[25]

ASTRA's magazine was one of the most prominent and long-lasting publications in Transylvania which reached a large audience due to system of itinerant libraries organized by associations in Sibiu that travelled from village to village.[26] The periodical published a lot of papers on historical, linguistic, pedagogical, natural sciences, medicine, ethnographical, philosophical subjects and also information about the scientific, literary and cultural life of Transylvania and the Kingdom of Romania. Therefore, the magazine had an encyclopedic character during the studied period.[27]

ASTRA's Involvement in the Social Life of the Romanians in Transylvania

Similar to other cultural societies in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, ASTRA was preoccupied with the popular Romanian folklore. Thus, it gathered a number of ballads, doine (folk ballades), poems, and folk tales. The critical review of the folk tales led to the finding that those which circulated in the Apuseni Mountains bore similarities to those from Russia, Sweden, Norway, or even from Central Asia.[28]

During the second part of the nineteenth century, Romanian intellectuals were concerned about the spreading of mass-produced clothing in the rural areas which had led to the standardization of the popular clothing with other nationalities of Transylvania, especially Hungarians and Saxons. The existence of income gaps in the Transylvanian Romanian society was also highlighted. George Barițiu mentioned the financial differences in the Transylvanian Romanian society, stating that while some people with good financial situation bought clothes from London, Paris etc., the Romanian peasants still made their clothes by hand. He advocated for the latter solution without excluding or rejecting the first.[29] It was pointed out that Romanians had borrowed from the ancient Romans some clothing items, but also from the Balkan peoples, and Turks, and after 1848 they embraced quickly the Westerner outfit.[30]

Romanians' habits were widely debated by ASTRA. In an article which analyzed the customs of the Romanians in Transylvania, they were told that they should be proud of their beautiful customs. The most representative were folk dances, feasts, alms, and ceremonies

[25] For more details about the socio-professional structure of ASTRA's members, see: Moga 2003, 166–175; Popovici 2011, 88–94; Popovici 2018, 51–61.

[26] Moga 2003, 22.

[27] Matei 1987, 266; Nicolaescu 2014, 89–101.

[28] Sima 1890, 54–58.

[29] Barițiu 1877, 272–275.

[30] B. 1889, 75–77.

organized on various occasions, and religious holidays. Despite this the weakening of these customs was often considered due to the fact that it was thought they consumed the limited resources of the family and thus, they negatively influenced the living standards of its members.[31] The tradition of the Christmas tree was also discussed as it rapidly spread among Romanians. At first, it became popular among the Romanian elite and then it was adopted by the rest of the people. It was considered that the Romanians improved tradition by adding specific carols singing.[32]

Because of the low educational level, poor living conditions, and material shortages, Romanians neglected nutrition. Thus, *Transilvania* magazine tried as much as possible to improve the way in which Romanians ate, indicating several ways to address the problem.

Issues related to education and how Romanians in Transylvania managed to develop the educational system were also approached. To improve their economic situation, peasants were encouraged to enroll their children in special schools of agriculture, because only there they could learn skills that would help them to properly cultivate their land. Even if the educational system was not perfect, it worked and could be attended by more and more people.[33] Analyzing the profile of faculties Romanians attended, it was found that they mainly opted for humanities. Their disregard for exact sciences and technology was explained by the fact that Romanians lacked financial means for prolonged years of study. The conclusion was supported by the reality that Romanians attended faculties as long as they received scholarships. Even if the educational level of the Romanians in Transylvania was not enviable, it improved towards the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as many of them attended various faculties, including ones with technological profiles.[34]

Between 1868 and 1914, ASTRA focused on the health situation and diseases present in Transylvania. One of the biggest problems identified as disease was 'alcoholism' considered one of the greatest scourges affecting the Romanian people.[35] The articles also contained description of symptoms and preventive measures for the diseases widely spread at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the next in Transylvania. Among them, there were: somnambulism,[36] malaria,[37] diseases caused by alcoholism[38] and tuberculosis.[39]

Referring to the health situation of the Transylvanians at the end of the nineteenth century, it was concluded that STDs still produced many deaths, some of them even among children. Syphilis, typhus, and malaria were the most widespread diseases. The comparisons were made between the situation in Hungary and the Kingdom of Romania. For example, in Romania, leprosy was still causing deaths, while in Hungary the disease was no longer reported. Regarding the number of doctors in Romania, there were 1413

[31] Popi 1899, 182–184.
[32] Șpan 1896, 7–27.
[33] Petrișoru 1888, 180–183.
[34] For details about the educational preferences of the Romanian elite in Transylvania, see Sigmirean 2000, Iudean 2019, 5–22.
[35] Muresianu 1876, 265–267. For more details on the problem of alcoholism, see Tămaș 2015.
[36] Simonu 1884, 58–62.
[37] Stoica 1887, 5–9.
[38] Bordia 1897, 160–164.
[39] B. 1898, 1–10.

doctors and surgeons while in Hungary there were 4280. The situation of hospitals in 1894 was also in favor of Hungary, which had 334 medical institutions while in Romania in the same year there were only 132 hospitals and hospices plus 12 private homes for the elderly and disable people and three private health houses.[40] Comparing these numbers to that of the population in the two countries, one can came to the conclusion that the situation was far from being disadvantageous to the Romanian Kingdom. That was because Romania had about six million inhabitants while the part of Hungary administrated by Austria-Hungary had a population of about 16 million.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, ASTRA became more preoccupied about the lifestyle of Romanians in Transylvania. This resulted in an important number of monographs about their habits and occupations. In what comes next, I will focus on several examples. Studies from early twentieth century revealed that houses become more and more spacious and household annexes were also diversified.[41] Even if there were several houses with one room inhabited by one or two families, this situation was less and less common. Also, the straw roofs lost ground as only the oldest houses were still covered with this type of perishable material while new ones used tiles or shingles. Most of the houses were built mainly in mountain areas and thus, they were made of oak and had stone foundation.[42] The main occupation of Romanians remained farming, fruit-growing, and animal husbandry.[43] At the beginning of twentieth century, the *Transilvania* magazine portrayed an unflattering image of the Romanians' way of living.

A debated issue by ASTRA was the emigration. From the beginning of the twentieth century, a large number of inhabitants of Transylvania went to the USA, where agriculture and industry required an increasing work force as they underwent a rapid development. The immigration appeared to be a solution for many as Europe experienced several economic crises at the end of the nineteenth century and the first part of the next century. Moreover, the European agriculture lost the battle with the USA in exports and productivity. The European industry also lost ground as the American one continued to rapidly develop.[44]

To combat the emigration of Transylvanian Romanians to the USA, ASTRA supported the publication of the paper: *De ce să nu mergem în America?* ['Why not go to America?'] by Ioan Iosif Șchiopul. Although it was written for educational purposes, it also had a strong propagandistic tone as it pleaded against emigration and tried to dissuade the potential emigrants from Transylvania.[45] Another important note is that between 1899 and 1914, roughly an equal number of immigrants from Transylvania headed towards the USA and the Kingdom of Romania. The rest emigrated to Germany and Russia. After 1903, more and more people emigrated to the USA due to the economic development of this country. In the mentioned period, a total number of 228987 people emigrated from Transylvania, of which 44450 returned. 102200 people headed towards the Kingdom of Romania and another 111785 went to the USA. Regarding the ethnic structure of Transylvanian immigrants, this

[40] Beu 1896, 61.
[41] Păcală 1910, 57–84.
[42] Popoviciu 1911, 209.
[43] Borgovan 1911, 19–27.
[44] Murgescu 2010, 104–105; Ferguson 2011, 192,
[45] Șchiopul 1914, 54–55.

was: 66.2% were Romanians, 18.8% were Hungarians, and 14.5% were Germans.[46] These numbers reflected a partial reality as they only refer those who emigrated legally. Many immigrants did not have the money to have a passport issued, while others fled to escape the military service.[47]

Returning to the brochure *De ce să nu mergem în America?* the author stated that the first Romanians reached the American continent around 1850–1860, but the majority of them arrived after 1900. Their stay was limited to a maximum period of 10–12 years, but there were also exceptions with people living in America for a period of 15–20 years or more. Regarding the Romanians in the USA, I. I. Şchiopul thought that it was difficult to give exact numbers. According to his count, in 1913 about 100000 Romanians emigrated from Transylvania to America. Comparing these figures with those provided by recent research, one can come to the conclusion that I. I. Şchiopul approximated correctly the number of Romanians who had crossed the Atlantic. 70000 of them planned to return while the rest planned to become American citizens. An expression 'mia şi călătoria' ['the thousand and the trip'] that circulated among Transylvanians spoke about the purpose of their trip to America: they worked in the USA to raise some money and then return to Transylvania to buy their own parcels of land. Assessing the impact of emigration in Transylvania, it was appreciated that only the rich, the elders, the children and the very poor remained in some villages. Poverty was the main cause of emigration.

Even if the majority of those who left were ploughmen, they ended up working in the American factories where due to lack of skills and because they did not speak English, they were often injured. Also, poverty made them accept the hardest work and they were underpaid, too. The analysis of I. I. Şchiopul is among the few works from the early twentieth century that focuses on Transylvanian Romanians which dealt with the topic of emigration across the Atlantic Ocean. In spite of the propagandistic character, the presentation of working conditions of Romanians living in the USA[48] contained a kernel of truth as the author knew well the realities of emigration to the American Promised Land.

Other publications of ASTRA also dealt with the fate of Romanians who immigrated to the USA. Some of them returned sick and penniless.[49] On contrary, others mentioned that they only returned with money to build a better life, but also the American experience changed radically their mentality. Most of them sent their children to study, become part of the agricultural and economic cooperatives, set up companies and built modern houses. One can notice that a great majority of published materials presented the emigration in the USA as a failure, even if they have highlighted the benefits enjoyed by Romanians returning from the 'Promised Land.' An internal migration was also a reality in Transylvania as it was triggered by the desire to find better living conditions, more freedom and more fertile land.

In order to help the Romanians overcame the heavy conditions of living or working, ASTRA offered various practical advices. They ranged from how the animals were cared

[46] Bolovan 2000, 52–77.

[47] Bolovan 2000.

[48] For details related to the life of the Romanian communities in the USA, see Karda 2012, 189–197.

[49] Iosif 1914, 22–24.

and fed[50] to various farming practices and fertilization of the cultivated land.[51] Advices about personal hygiene were also given.[52]

In the last part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century, ASTRA, through its own magazine, focused its economic propaganda on demonstrating the viability and sustainability of the cooperative economic system, especially in agricultural and banking field.[53] The *Transilvania* magazine published information about the economic, educational, demographic,[54] sanitary situation in the Kingdom of Romania, too. This was related to frequent comparisons made between the situation of Romanians in Transylvania and those who lived in the Old Kingdom of Romania, which was roughly the same.

Conclusions

With the help of ASTRA cultural society, Romanians elites of Transylvania thought they would manage to better defend their national identity than the political parties. This is easily explained if one considers the fact that there were serious conflicts in the political bodies and that they were under a lot of pressure coming from state authorities. As shown above, ASTRA borrowed the organization and the activity principle from the other cultural societies within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In our paper we highlighted some of the key aspects of the everyday life of Romanians in Transylvania in the late nineteenth century and early next century. We focused our analysis to a great extent on the articles published by the *Transilvania* magazine. These articles dealt with various topics, including collecting popular Romanian folklore, the clothing of Romanians in Transylvania, folk customs, occupations, nutrition, migration, educational situation, the health system, the way of living and not least the practical advice given to improve the existing situation. We did not aim to provide a detailed analysis of these articles, as our interest was limited to identifying the main subjects about the daily life of Romanians in Transylvania that interested ASTRA. Their analysis can reveal a complete image of the daily life of Romanians in Transylvania, who, on the one hand lived in a world of popular belief, and on the other hand, they renounced to traditions and their specific life style. For example, they opted for the mass-produced clothes that were more practical and increasingly cheaper in comparison to their traditional clothes. The Romanian elite was very much aware of the Romanians' situation in Transylvania and thus, it took the task of raising their cultural and social level.

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[50] Georgescu 1884, 43–45.

[51] Pop de Basesci 1884, 49–55.

[52] B. 1886, 109–111.

[53] For details, see Nicolaescu 2016, 44–53; Nicolaescu 2017, 109–125.

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RE-EVALUATING OCTAVIAN SMIGELSCHI'S *ANGEL OF DEATH* PAINTING SERIES (1892–1912)

IOANA GRUIȚĂ-SAVU*

Abstract: The Angel of Death painting series is Octavian Smigelschi's personal reflections on a private moment, his younger brother's death that occurred in 1892. For almost a decade he constantly evoked the image of his tormented brother, obsessively returning to this same subject. The present article reevaluates the artistic products of this series, both in the context of Smigelschi's creative process and against the Central European artistic background. Following the genesis of his work process I identified the main key steps in the development of his subject and compositional schemes, transformed under the influence of his changing attitude towards the abovementioned event, from a particular situation to a general meditation on death.

Keywords: Octavian Smigelschi, death, angel, symbolism, Central Europe, painting

Rezumat: Seria Îngerul morții este o reflecție personală a pictorului Octavian Smigelschi asupra unui moment privat, moartea fratelui său mai mic, care a avut loc în anul 1892. Timp de aproape un deceniu a evocat în mod constant imaginea fratelui său chinuit de boală, revenind obsesiv la același subiect. Prezentul articol reevaluează produsele artistice ale acestei serii, atât în contextul procesului creativ al lui Smigelschi, cât și pe fondul artistic central european. Urmărind geneza procesului său de lucru, am identificat principalele etape cheie în dezvoltarea subiectului său și a schemelor compoziționale, transformate sub influența atitudinii sale schimbătoare față de evenimentul menționat anterior, de la o situație specială la o meditație generală asupra morții.

Cuvinte cheie: Octavian Smigelschi, moarte, înger, simbolism, Europa Centrală, pictură

Octavian Smigelschi (1866–1912)[1] was a painter of angels. The Transylvanian painter created series of works depicting archangels, cherubs, seraphs, but none of his angels that decorate church cupolas, walls, and iconostases are more terrifying or better known than the *Angel of Death*. The *Angel of Death* is a small oil painting that was part of the painter's wife personal collection and was bought by the Asociația Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român (hereafter abbreviated as ASTRA) in the 1920s. The work was exhibited in the association's museum, in a permanent exhibition, and is currently preserved, beside the entire Smigelschi collection, by the Muzeul Național Brukenthal in Sibiu (Brukenthal National Museum, hereafter abbreviated as MNB).

The *Angel of Death* is also the title of a series that can be included among the painter's Symbolist works and reunites several compositional sketches and works focusing on death.

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[1] For more information on the artist's biography, see: Vătășianu 1936; Petranu 1943; Oprescu 1944; Iorga 1963; Sabău 1972; Lăptoiu 1979; Vătășianu 1982; Sabău 1996; Matits 1999; Vida 2002; Gogâlea 2006; Mesea 2007; Vida 2007, Gruiţă-Savu 2009; Sabău, Gruiţă-Savu 2009; Sabău, Gruiţă-Savu 2009; Chituţă 2012; Gruiţă-Savu 2012; Gruiţă-Savu 2013; Gruiţă-Savu 2019.

The series was generated by his meditation on a dramatic moment of his personal life, the loss of his younger brother, and it reflects the way in which Smigelschi connected to the issue of death in his attempt to resolve this more than twenty-year-long personal conflict with *Thanatos*.

The *Angel of Death* series was created in two stages, different on both formal and conceptual levels. During the first stage, between 1892 and 1897/1899, the studies for the *Angel of Death* composition alternated with other types of works, all focusing on recalling Cornel Smigelschi's image; the painter's brother died of tuberculosis in 1892, just sixteen years old.[2] Having witnessed his brother's passing, the painter attempted to solve this inner dilemma, to exorcise his feelings of helplessness and frustration by turning them into works of art. Despite the fact that the artist made several sketches and preparatory works, a single final composition has been preserved for this stage, namely the work kept in the above mentioned museum collection in Sibiu (Fig. 1).[3] The painter chose to depict a young man on his bed of suffering: his eyes closed, his chest bare, tormented by disease, while an angel leans over him, offering the embrace of death.[4] The second stage started right after bishop Vilmos Fraknói[5] granted Smigelschi a scholarship and the painter moved to Rome with his family, but also coincided with the onset of his own health problems. The second stage can be dated between 1909 and 1912.

Even since 1906 Smigelschi suffered from rheumatism that caused severe inflammations in his articulations and such crises prevented him from work for almost the entire year.[6] In 1909, while working for the project in Rădeşti, Alba County, Smigelschi suffered a heart attack. Such health problems affected the artist deeply. In a letter dated 20 November 1909 he confessed to his wife that 'I am so upset that I am still not alight… it was all caused by my heart affliction, I got irregular heartbeats and episodes of weakness, heavy breathing, my legs were swollen, not to mention rheumatic pains in the back.'[7] These symptoms prevented him from leaving for Rome, where he had left unfinished a number of projects: 'The doctors so compelled me, to force myself and with manly determination to submit to my fate, as all anxiety of the soul could harm my health…'[8] Starting from these confessions, I believe that the onset of his disease, that was rather aggressive, could have determined the painter to take up again the *Angel of Death* topic, against a meditative background connected to his health troubles. On the other hand, the artist's affliction can explain why

[2] The information related to his brother's death was published by Nicolae Sabău, who mentions that the *Angel of Death* series developed before 1899; the information was taken over from V. Vătăşianu (Sabău 1972, 50).

[3] *The Angel of Death*, Colecția MNB. Painting, no. 1560, oil on wooden panel, dimensions: 0.800 × 0.600 m. The work was dated by museum specialists between 1894 and 1897, i.e. more than two years after Cornel Smigelschi's death.

[4] Vătăşianu 1936, 33.

[5] In 1904 Bishop Vilmos Fraknói established a foundation that aimed at encouraging Hungarian art. The bishop opened to artists selected through a contest an entire palace in Rome, with numerous exhibition rooms. For more details see: Károly 1904, 50–54.

[6] Vătăşianu 1936, 13.

[7] All the quotations in this paper were translated from Romanian to English by Carmen Borbély.

[8] Data preserved in letters exchanged by Octavain Smigelschi and his wife between 10 and 20 November 1909, kept in the family archive. I thank Mrs. Ioana Şetran and Anamaria Smigelschi for granting me access to this material.

he adopted new working techniques: photography and collage that were, in his case, easier and faster than drawing, thus rendering the creative process shorter and more efficient.

Smigelschi developed the second compositional type mentioned above after having accepted his brother's passing and during a period when he became aware of his own fragility and of the imminence of his own death. The fact that the painter believed that the generative principles of a work of art had to reside in the artist's own feelings is attested by his speech, elaborated sometime after 1905:

> Artistic truth can never be absolutely correct, since the artist, in the enthusiasm of his inspiration, must focus all his spiritual forces on his soul's reactions, on the essence of the topic that is on his mind at that moment, and only secondly he should deal with how to proceed technically…[9]

Thus, starting from this pre-requisite, I believe that his new compositional attempt is an abstracting adaptation of the old topic and his way of relating to his own end; the artist thus tried to accept death by internalizing the Christian concept of redemption. I chose to interpret this series of works through Christian symbolism, taking into consideration the environment in which the artist developed his personality. His two older brothers were Greek-Catholic priests: the eldest, Victor Smigelski, became canon priest in Blaj, Vasile Smigelschi became village priest in Sâncel, and Smigelschi himself created religious paintings for more than twenty-five years and was closely connected to Greek-Catholic religious circles. I believe that Smigelschi could not have imagined death independent of Romanian tradition and mentality that in the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was deeply Christian.[10] Besides the *Angel of Death* series, the artist had previously created a work that depicts death (entitled *The Funeral*); the study, preserved in the collection of the MNB (Fig. 9), depicts a funeral service inside a village church. In this case the approach is realistic, as the artist depicts a coffin, placed in the church's vestibule, surrounded by the family of the deceased, while inside the church one can see the priest performing the service. This image also contains Christian symbols associated with death: the candle, held by a child, and the cross that features several times along the compositional main diagonal axis – on the priest's robes, on the catafalque, and on the coffin.

The new composition for the Angel of Death (Fig. 6) makes reference to the Biblical motifs of the *Lamentation* and *Deposition of Christ*; the dying child's silhouette turns into a symbolic image of a young man placed on the catafalque, accompanied by angles – messengers of death, who steal souls. Despite the fact that the topic was rather important

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[9] Octavian Smigelschi wrote an ample review to Miron Cristea's volume entitled *Iconografia și întocmirile din internul bisericei răsăritene* [The Iconography and Making of Eastern Church Interiors] printed in Sibiu in 1905; the review contains references to the general principles that should govern a work of art.

[10] Valeriu Braniște, the artist's friend and colleague, presented a synthetic view of Romanian mentality during that period, in connection to faith; in an article focusing on Smigelschi's activity. Braniște stated that: 'Law and nationality are completely merged with us, Romanians, so that one cannot even imagine one without the other. For this reason, the possibility of a <Kultur Kampf> is open with us, as all those who attack our church, also attack our nationality, and the other way around …' (Branisce 1904). For details on the issue, see Verdery 1990, 88–90; Fati 2007, 23–26.

to the artist, this last stage did not lead to a final composition as Octavian Smigelschi died unexpectedly in November 1912, leaving the work unfinished.[11] The manner in which he composed the image makes one think of a classical source of inspiration, as indicated by the *Wise and Foolish Virgins* series elaborated during the same period and by the series of works created for the Rákóczy Chapel. I nevertheless believe that the images under discussion remain anchored in the visual tradition of Christianity, even more since the works for the chapel in Budapest and the studies for the above-mentioned frieze employ the same clay characters modeled by the artist. At the same time, in the case of the *Angel of Death* composition and the other two works mentioned here, the approached topics seem to be religious in nature.

The present article aims at reevaluating Octavian Smigelschi's creation by including his preparatory sketches, ébauches, and croquis made for this study, that can be used as evidence for the development of his perception of the topic. Such an analysis eases the establishment of a chronological succession of the composition and character studies, following the series' inner logic, and aids in one's clearer framing of the series among the artist's other works.[12] Thus, I intend to reach an understanding of the creative process behind Smigelschi's works, to reconstruct the working methods he adopted in order to reach his goal and the way in which the artist reached a specific expression, adapted to his personal concerns, by borrowing stylistic or compositional elements from the artistic environment of his time. Also, the present study becomes an important piece of a more complex puzzle – the artist's entire creation that helps in reconstructing the development of his work and the manner in which important elements of his personal life had an impact on his various series of works.

The genetic file of this topic consists of his family's archives, the artist's correspondence with Valeriu Braniște and with his own wife, his sketches and works preserved in the collection of the MNB, but also those published in exhibition catalogues, testimonies of members of his family and the specialized bibliography that includes mentions of this topic. The analysis starts from the presumption that only two iconographic types exist for *The Angel of Death*: the first has a terminus point in a work preserved in the collection of the MNB (Fig. 1) and the second, lacking a final work, that includes a composition study also preserved in the collection of the MNB (Fig. 6).

Re-constructing the first compositional variant for the *Angel of Death*

Necrology.

Corneliu Smigelschi, a gymnasium student, at the age of 16, died of pneumonia, on August 14 in Bungardu commune, and was buried in 16. C in the gr. or. Cemetery – May he rest in peace![13]

[11] A photograph taken during this period in the artist's studio in Rome has been preserved; it contains the composition for the *Angel of Death* among the sketches in progress. The photograph is part of the archive kept by Ioana Şetran and Anamaria Smigelschi, the artist's granddaughters, whom I thank for kindly allowing me access to their entire collection of photographs and glass negatives.

[12] Gruiţă-Savu 2012, 354–355.

[13] *Corneliu Smigelschi, studentu gimnasialu, în etate de 16 ani, în urma unei aprinderi de plumâni, a răposatu la 14 Augustu în comuna Bungardu, îmormentându-se la 16. C în cemiterului gr. Or. de-acolo – Fiă i ţerâna uşoră*! (Gazeta Transilvaniei 1892).

The iconographic expression for this first cycle of works is directly connected to the way in which Octavian Smigelschi perceived his brother's suffering. The newspaper announced that Cornel Smigelschi died from pneumonia, but the testimonies of his family members suggest that the young boy died from tuberculosis,[14] a very common disease in the nineteenth century, so much that it became a real issue of public health, as it was responsible for one third of deaths in Europe, spread to all social environments, and was called the *Great White Plague*.[15] It was also considered a disease of sensitiveness and was called the *Romantic Disease* because it was extremely common among the artists; well-known artists such as Frédéric Chopin, John Keats, and Emily Brontë were among its victims.[16] The cure for tuberculosis, i.e. the treatment with antibiotics, was only discovered during the 1940s and thus no effective cure was available during the nineteenth century. The only possibility was to try and ease the suffering of the afflicted. Furthermore, the sick were isolated due to the manner in which the disease was transmitted (through the air). The drama of having a member of the family suffering from tuberculosis was augmented by the others' feeling of helplessness but also fear of becoming the affliction's next victim, as it could be transmitted by a simple breath. I believe that tuberculosis and its nature dominated the way in which Smigelschi conceived the entire series of works during this first stage.

Unfortunately, there is no written document to mention the artist's reaction to his brother's death. The present analysis starts from data included in V. Vătășianu's volume printed in 1936, correlated with information provided by the artist's family and details in his works created for this cycle and others in which the artist depicted moments from his family's life.

Consequences of tuberculosis (troubles breathing, lack of energy, pallor, elevated body temperature, and immobility to bed) are reflected both in the artist's realist works that depict elements from family daily life and through symbolic elements such as the pillow, the pallor, and the bed in the *Angel of Death* series. Virgil Vătășianu identified Cornel Smigelschi as the protagonist of this first series of works, following discussions he had with the artist's wife, but one can also note a resemblance between the child in the *Angel of Death* (Figs. 2, 3a) and Cornel Smigelschi's portrait (Fig. 5b).

The final work of this series is small in size (0.800 × 0.600 m), made in oil colors on wooden board and has been dated by specialists from the MNB around 1895, three years after Cornel Smigelschi's death (Fig. 1).[17] This compositional solution was reached after several attempts and it includes a number of allegorical elements, with strong Symbolist notes, that the artist employed in order to capture, as clearly as possible, the dramatic moment when his brother encountered the angel and received the kiss of death.

In order to illustrate his idea, the painter turned to an entire scenery of visual elements that were part of his reality, that he pigmented with elements from the unseen world, from a mythical-religious imaginary space. Thus, Smigelschi chose to associate real and unreal elements in order to create an as convincing as possible image that would induce the feeling of death to the viewers. The artist has constructed a relatively simple image: a suffering

[14] Data on Cornel Smigelschi's disease was provided by members of his family.

[15] Dragoș Bumbăcea, 2005, 5–8.

[16] Daniel 2000, 30; Bourdelais 2006, 115–118.

[17] See Iulia Mesea 2007, 136.

child gives his last breath assisted by an angel that leans over him with open wings, offering the embrace of death; the scene is placed in an ascetic-like room,[18] as the elements are reduced to a few pieces of furniture needed: the bed of suffering and a bed stand, so that the viewer's entire attention is channeled towards the sick person. Nevertheless, on closer view, one can notice a number of details, some fulfilling a symbolic function, that the artist included on purpose in order to send a message on life and death, on fate and salvation. One such detail is the window still that becomes a passage to the other world. Another element with symbolic value is the candle placed near the bed of suffering. Other symbolic elements indicators of the disease are the remedies that the sick child was given to ease his suffering and prolong his life and the pillow he rested on and which was meant to help him breathe easier.

The dramatic moment of the child's death is stressed through several details of scenery that Smigelschi manipulates masterly. First of all, the painter conceives the scene as a visual communication between the child and the angel that thus becomes the center of interest of the entire work. On a symbolic level, Smigelschi captures the dialogue between the two characters that is the encounter between life and death. In order to stress the supernatural nature of the moment, the two characters are surrounded by a heart-shaped area of light that replaces the child's pillow and the angel's robes, thus rendering a feeling of imponderability and elevation.[19] The angel is depicted in a domineering position, while the child is in a subordinate position. Therefore, on a compositional level, one can note a strong descending diagonal axis that guides one's gaze to the lower part of the work, supported by the chromatic palette and the position of the minimal decorative items. The child seems to slip from the image, invoking a strong feeling of surrender and powerlessness, while the angel, with its extended wings, occupies the entire upper part of the work. The play of light and shadow that Octavian Smigelschi creates is another scenery effect: the angel's face and the child's visage are lit by the candle placed on the bed stand, near the bed. The angel's wings are bathed in a pale light that enters through the window. Through the bed stand and the candle, Smigelschi creates another strong separation line, this time placed horizontally, that connects the bed stand and the blanked covering the child; this line separates two planes: the upper, spiritual plane, placed in the light, the plane of life, and the lower, telluric, dark plane of death.

The candle can be interpreted as guiding the soul's passage to the other side[20] or as symbol of the ephemeral and fragile nature of the human being. According to the Christian tradition, a candle is lit by the head of the recently deceased in order to symbolize the light of the good deeds with which the Christian will meet Christ for the Last Judgment,[21] but it can also be seen as a metaphor for the fragility of life, that can be

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[18] Vida 2002, 176.

[19] I thank Dr. Andor Kömives, professor at the Painting Department of the University of Art and Design, Cluj-Napoca, for this suggestion and for his help in deciphering the composition.

[20] *Învățătură de credință creștină ortodoxă* 2006, 188; Drăgoi 2002.

[21] The candle is the soul's guide on its path to eternity, dispelling the darkness of death and bringing the Christian's soul closer to Christ. The traditional association starts from Christ's words: 'I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.' (John 8:12). See *Învățătură de credință creștină ortodoxă* 2006, 188.

easily ended.[22] Beside this spiritual symbol, the painter places on the bed stand a glass of water and a small bottle, probably containing the cure, the pharmaceutical remedy given to the sick person. The medicine was inefficient in alleviating the devastating effects of tuberculosis, and through its association with the candle, the artist probably intended to suggest that no human remedy can stop the implacable destiny. This type of depiction of the sick on his bed of suffering, near the bed stand with the medicine, is often encountered in European works of art such as Stanislaw Grocholsky's *Death of the Orphan Girl* (1884) or Edvard Munch's series entitled *The Sick Child* (1885–1896).[23]

Smigelschi imagined a space of passage to the other world, a room with pre-determined function. In the background, the artist sketches a window, a liminal element, the place where the soul leaves the room; the window mullions form a cross, the Christian symbol of salvation.[24] Nature outside the window suggests a sunset, with the roofs hardly visible through milky fog.

The chromatic of the scene is mainly cold; the boy's blanked receives nuances of olive green, the window and the entire surroundings are rendered in different shades of violet, but also black. The use of these specific colors might be interpreted as symbolic; the symbolists, as well as the Pre-Raphaelite, are good examples of practical use of theories on the association between feelings and colors: green was the color of hope and violet the color of death.[25] One of the angel's wings is entirely painted black and its contour seems to suggest a specter lurking in the shadow.

There are multiple references to Cornel's disease: he faces death by himself, an allusion to the isolation of tuberculosis patients, and the angel leans over him as to steal his last breath, a new reference to the disease that had an aerial dissemination. The child leans on a large pillow[26] that is meant to support his head, in order to help him breathe easier, and it is at the same time the connecting element between death and sleep (the well-known *Hypnos-Thanatos* pair*)*. The child's chest is bare, suggesting his need of air, and it reveals an emaciated and pale body.

The angel embraces the upper part of the bed with claw-like arms; his position recalls the image of a bird of prey, with open wings, ready to fall over its prey.[27] The context created

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[22] During the same period, artist Stanisław Grocholski, in the work *Death of the Orphan Girl* (1884), used the candle as a symbol for the ephemerality of human hope; in this case, the candle was put out by the wind see National Museum of Krakow; Król 2000, 9. I thank Dr. Robert Born for this suggestion.

[23] Edvard Munch's series seems to have started from his sister's death of tuberculosis. One can note that in this case, too, the pillow that supports the girl's body, the bed stand with medicine, and the blanket covering her.

[24] Damaschin 1943, 301–303.

[25] Octavian Smigelschi was familiar with the English artistic environment of the end of the nineteenth century, as he was a fervent supporter of John Ruskin's theories. He suggested the latter's volumes as bibliographical sources to his friend, Valeriu Braniște (Iancu, Căliman 1986, 46; Mathieu, 1990, 33).

[26] The pillow is a constant element in all compositional variants of this topic.

[27] Due to the manner of depicting hands, in which I noted slight anatomical errors, I am unable to state with certainty if this was the painter's true intention. Besides, in the case of this series of works, Octavian Smigelschi generated a number of ambiguities due to the inadequate means of visual-anatomical rendering. One such example can be found in the foreshortening of the child's face that can generate multiple interpretations of the image.

by Smigelschi is dramatic, theater-like, with the two sources of light suggesting a scene where the main characters enter a play of life and death.[28]

In order to reach a coherent visual expression, Smigelschi made several attempts which, for various reasons, did not satisfy him and were thus abandoned as sketches for the entire composition or just for details. The analysis of these attempts can help us discover how the topic developed and which elements were important, or not, to the artist. The intermediate material elaborated by the artist can be grouped into three main types; the first type includes the early variants of the final composition, the second consists of studies focusing on the angel's face, where Smigelschi attempted to render a certain countenance, and the third type groups in fact the first compositions that include Cornel Smigelschi, in various states of his disease, and that are in fact the starting point of the *Angel of Death* series.

Among the earliest compositional variants that Smigelschi developed one finds a study, also preserved din the collection of the MNB, made in Indian ink (Fig. 3a), that dates from before 1894, a period close to Cornel Smigelschi's death. The artist's brother died in 1892, at 16, and Smigelschi painted a portrait of him that very year, currently in the Marius Smigelschi collection (Fig. 5b). His brother's death was a relatively recent event and the artist's reception of the moment was slightly different: the arrival of the messenger of death was an act of liberation, following a moment of maximum emotional tension. The angel's kiss received positive value since through a single gesture he had the power to end the dying child's suffering. The scene was conceived from a naturalist perspective, probably much closer to the way in which the events took place. This impression is supported by the presence of a third character that completes the composition, i.e. the child's mother who certainly watched with her sick son. The woman was seated in the lower part of the scene, almost out of the frame, as if she was a spectator at her child's death, unable to intervene. Near the bed, the young man's medicine was placed on the same bed stand. Cornel Smigelschi was depicted with his eyes closed, leaning amidst pillows, bare-chested, waiting for the redeeming kiss. The work suggests a feeling of liberation, with the angel's presence clearly perceived as beneficial; his wings are much smaller as compared to the final composition and their tono is equal in almost all areas. A significant part of the elements associated with death have not been yet introduced: the candle, the cross, or the angel's threatening arms. Among the works in the first category, I would like to mention another of the artist's attempts (Fig. 2)[29] that bears a formal resemblance to the final work; the differences reside in the composition and several small details that show that the artist had not yet fully clarified his ideas. From a compositional perspective, in this latter example

[28] This scenery of play between light and shadow resembles the style consecrated by Rembrandt van Rijn (I thank Dr. Andor Kömives for this suggestion as well), who created the atmosphere in his paintings by introducing several sources of light and alternating them with areas of shadow and half-darkness. One knows that Smigelschi visited the *Alte Pinakothek* in Munich and, captured by the works of the great masters, he made a series of sketches after such paintings. The collection of the MNB includes a sketch for the *Descent from the Cross* directly inspired by Rembrandt's works in the above-mentioned collection from Munich. One can thus establish a formal connection between Rembrandt's work entitled *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (1636) and Smigelschi's *Angel of Death*.

[29] Composition sketch for *The Angel of Death*, pen on paper, inv. no. XI 97, MNB, Sibiu. Specialists of the MNB dated it to 1894, while members of the artist's family dated it to 1895.

Smigelschi stressed the descending vertical curve through his channeling of light that flows down to the lower part of the image. Thus, the child's body is fully lit and the sensation of him slipping from the frame is stronger. At the same time, there is no more separation between the upper and lower planes; this idea was probably only implemented in the final variant. The angel leans over the child's forehead for a kiss, and the child, his eyes half open, abandons himself powerlessly; this time, the angel's gesture seems tender and full of compassion, even protective. On the bed stand nearby, the artist depicts the candle that is the only source of light of the entire scene. The angel seems to protect the flame with its right hand and to channel the light towards the child's face. At the same time, if one accepts the interpretation according to which Smigelschi introduces the candle in order to suggest the ephemeral nature of human life, then the angel's gesture could also be read as intended to put out the flame and thus to cut the thread of life and the angel would thus be a threatening rather than a protective being.[30] Light flows over the characters, stressing the richness of the robe that the divine messenger wears, while the angel's wing preserves its contours and no longer merges with the background. Nevertheless, one can also note a slight change of perspective; the angel's face is sweeter due to the angle of the selected point of view and the child's eyes are closed, suggesting his lack of power. The mouillons of the window behind have not yet received the clear cross-shaped form. The death announced by the messenger seems to be a liberating one and not necessarily threatening. The piece of art is elaborated almost to the point of a final work, and through the hachures employed by the artist in rendering areas of light and shadow one is made to recall Rembrandt's graphic works.[31]

Besides these three main compositional variants, where one can see very well the manner in which the artist's view of the events developed, two detail studies have also been preserved, focusing on the figure of the angel leaning over the child's face, the detail that raised problems. Figure 4 is a detail sketch preserved in the collection of the MNB, that must have been made sometime between 1892 and 1894. The artist captures the angel's face,[32] with a countenance made sharper by the selected angle of view; the traits are more stressed the nose more prominent. The perspective is also changed, as Smigelschi depicts the child's face foreshortened, facing death in the eye. This silent dialogue of gazes can be found in a subsequent composition (Fig. 3c) where the artist creates another variant for the angel's face, rendered from a different angle and under a different source of light.[33]

In order to reach the final compositional type, Smigelschi started in fact from the image of his brother in the final stage of his disease. In the study entitled *Child sleeping*[34] (Fig. 3d), the young man was captured on his bed of suffering, fully covered, with his face turned away, almost hidden. Some of the elements associated to the disease that the artist

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[30] The erroneous anatomical rendering of the angel's right hand generates interpretative ambiguities, as it might protect the flame or, on the contrary, might put it out.

[31] I thank Dr. Robert Born for this suggestion.

[32] The angel required special attention, as it was an unreal character and posed problems to the artist who was used to making naturalist drawings, after a model.

[33] The wing on the left is in the shadows, while the one on the right is lit.

[34] Though known under the title of *Child Sleeping*, I believe this work rather depicts a child brought down by disease, always in bed, with the face turned away in order not to disseminate the virus responsible for tuberculosis.

used in the final compositional variant were initially employed here: the rather large pillow that supports his head and without which the boy might not have been able to breathe, the blanked that covers him completely, and the bed as a place of suffering. The work is dated around 1890, when Cornel was still alive, and has been made in Indian ink; the artist employed strong, nervous hachures in order to render the different elements of the composition. In the same category one can include the work entitled *Interior* (Fig. 4) that has been dated to around 1892.[35] Through the genuine rendering of this moment in the life of his family, one can presume that the scene was an everyday occurrence. The father sits by the table reading and the mother watches over her two children by the edge of the bed. What catches one's eye in fact is the contrast between the two children: Cornel is isolated, passive, depicted lying on the bed, covered in blankets, with his large pillow under his head, in a crouching position, while his brother is active, involved in the family's common activities and conversation.

The artist therefore started from a real image of the child, that he interpreted and enriched with different symbolic elements in order to stress, as much as possible, his own feelings towards this situation. Before his brother's death, Smigelschi had a more realistic perception of the entire scene, but after his death he constructed an interpretation through the filter of his own perception of reality, where the imaginary plane meets reality and the child's image turns from real to ideal. Initially, death was perceived as a liberating event that offered tranquility to a body tortured by the disease, but in time, when the brother's absence became troubling, death started to seem unfair because it took away an innocent child. During this period, the artist continuously turned back and forth between the two divergent feelings.

I believe that the work that in fact solves this conflict is the well-known painting in oil *Young Man Reading* (Fig. 5c) in which Smigelschi creates an idealized image of his brother, render with artistic means typical for Naturalism, in order to transform it into a credible, authentic image. The artist imagines Cornel Smigelschi in a warm light, reading, and full of health. The young man, with rosy cheeks, holding a book, is seating against two large pillows, but this time the item is only meant to help him read more comfortably. His chest is bare, but he no longer has breathing problems and the bed is no longer his bed of suffering. Virgil Vătăşianu dated this work to 1899, 'seven years after the artist's brother passed away.'[36] This work probably marks the moment when Smigelschi resolved his dilemmas related to Cornel's death; he accepted it and wished to preserve an image of his brother in which death was no longer the main element. There is another work, a sooner version of *The Young Man Reading*, dated 1896 (Fig. 5a). This painting is probably closer to the reality that the painter remembered. The child with his head held by two huge white pillows, decorated with red and white traditional embroidery, is lying on a sofa and he reads. The artist's attention focuses on his brother's face, the white of the book/newspaper; the white of the shirt and of the pillow guides the attention towards his face. If we were to compare the two images, the one dated 1896 has vivid colors, like the red embroiders and the green and red sofa design that are more realistic and they also catch

[35] The work is part of a private collection and was published in the retrospective catalogue dedicated to Octavian Smigelschi printed in Sibiu; see Iorga 1963, fig. 2.

[36] Vătăşianu 1936, 24.

the attention. In the latter version, which I believe is more idealistic and conceptual; the artist takes out the disturbing elements, the unnecessary colors and decorative patterns, and keeps the composition clean with strong whites against a darken background, the sofa patterns are flattened and the tones are consonant so the attention is clearly focused on the young man's face. Also, the red decorations on the pillow disappear, they became white and complete the impression that the boy, in his white shirt, becomes one with the pillow.

Re-evaluating the second compositional model

Once Smigelschi traveled to Rome and established himself in the Italian capital, he started a new cycle of works for the *Angel of Death* topic, in which he overcame the evoking stage, fully abandoned descriptive observation, and created a completely new composition, in which the meta-language becomes more refined; this new visual formula becomes a meditation on his own destiny. Unfortunately, the artist died without having reached a definitive form, and thus, on the basis of preserved sketches, one can only hypothesize on the final picture that might have completed this cycle of works. For the same reason, its analysis is not identical to that of the first series of works that did lead to a final variant.

For this stage, Smigelschi also changed his working method; his research became clearly compositional. He is less interested in rendering graphical elements, but attempts to establish the main lines of the composition. The working method and technical means adopted for making the compositional and character studies are highly sophisticated.

Between 1909 and 1912 Smigelschi made use of small lathed wooden models, ca. 100 cm high, during his creative process. These models had all the significant anatomical elements: head, neck, body, and members, made of separate parts that were then assembled together with inner ties made of elastic gum. This way of connecting the corresponding parts endowed these mannequins with certain mobility. Over these basis elements that rendered the skeleton of a human body, Smigelschi placed a layer of clay or Plasticine in order to render muscles. The models were subsequently clad in canvas dipped in liquid clay. With the aid of this material, Smigelschi managed to give these statuettes volume and to obtain the long-thought-for antique aspect through the play of draping.[37]

The small statuettes were not made especially for the *Angel of Death* composition, but were first used as working tools for the scenes that were to decorate the chapel of the Rákóczi College in Budapest, the main project for which Smigelschi had received the stipend in Rome. Later on, they were also used for the *Angel of Death* series and the scene of the *Wise and Foolish Virgins*.[38] It seems that the artist had designed several main characters, some seated, the others standing, that he then placed in different positions and used as models for his pencil studies. Subsequently he also made use of the photographic camera, creating snapshots of the models from various angles. He then developed the glass negatives and used the images as models for his graphic studies.

Smigelschi used photography ever since 1904, when he started making the first studies for the cathedral in Sibiu. The artist had improvised a small photo studio where he photographed his wife and children impersonating various biblical characters. Numerous such glass negatives are still preserved in the collection of his family. All were then

[37] Sabău 1972, 55–56.
[38] Vătășianu 1936, 80–81.

transposed into paintings and, later on, in carved concrete marble works.[39] At the same time, I believe that the painter realized that it was easier for him to construct compositions through cut-out photographs[40] and collage, than through drawing. Since 1906 Smigelschi suffered from arthritis that led to intense pain episodes that often immobilized him to bed. This disease mainly targets the small articulations of the hand and the artist probably lost some of the mobility required by his minute composition studies. I believe this is one of the reasons behind his adoption of a working method involving photographic negatives and cut-out elements; an easier process that was better adapted to his physical condition and did not require so much precision.

Specialists have often discussed the impact of photography on painting in the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Major influences have been noted especially on Impressionist and Nabi works of art[41] in which the artists incorporated the photographic way of perceiving reality.[42] The French environment was not the only one in which photography contributed to the artists' perception of reality: the photographic camera was also used as an intermediary technical means among the members of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood,[43] but also by artists such as Alphonse Mucha and Hans Makart. The technique of photography offered painting a means through which artists captured details that were invisible to the human eye and was often used for preparatory studies, many of the negatives lacking artistic intention *per se*. They were snapshots of moments that raised their interest and could serve as visual sources for their future projects.[44] Photographic snapshots were taken with cameras for amateurs, easily transported and used, that allowed artists to immortalize situations that could only be painstakingly transposed in painting, following costly drawing studies and sitting sessions that involved lengthy working hours after a model.

Smigelschi, like his contemporaries, saw the photo camera as an instrument that might ease his process of composition elaboration, even more since it was a priority to for him to render reality in a naturalist manner. I believe that the artist did not employ photography as an independent means of expression, but as a technical means – an intermediary element that helped in the creation of various compositions that he later on transposed in drawing and color.

Before using photography in elaborating his compositions, Smigelschi drew rather large numbers of studies, in which he used to change the position of one or more characters until reaching the much thought for harmony. As for collage, it was employed both in the elaboration of the *Angel of Death* composition and the *Quartet* series, for which the artist cut-out his own drawings.[45] In the end, after obtaining the main lines of the composition through collage, the artist made interventions in pencil or pen, where he felt the need to do so, in order to finish the details (Fig. 8d). I do not believe that collage can be considered an

[39] A new technique that Smigelschi invented and patented during his stay in Rome, see Gruiță-Savu 2013, 357–375.

[40] Sabău 1972, 56.

[41] Easton 2011; New Visions 2008; Rosillo 2012.

[42] Kosinski 1999.

[43] *The Pre-Raphaelite lens* 2011, 18–20.

[44] Nathan 2013.

[45] Gruiță-Savu 2012, 353–370.

independent artistic means of expression in Smigelschi's case; he used it as a working stage, as an intermediary study, after which he transposed everything through classical means of artistic expression.[46]

Since the artist reached for formal harmony, he often cut-out parts of characters from several photos that seemed to satisfy his requirements and through associating them he rebuilt, in fact, that character into a more convenient pose. I believe that the artist organized sessions during which he took group photographs of the statuettes that he had previously prepared, capturing their image in all poses and from all the angles he deemed useful, and then cut the images according to his vision. In areas where the photo was insufficiently sharp, he made interventions in pen or pencil in order to render certain details. This novel working method saved him a lot of time, as at that stage he was interested in the position of the characters, their connection to each other, the angles from which they should be rendered, and the details of their clothes.

In case of the second compositional series for the *Angel of Death*, Smigelschi paid more attention to the rhythm of the elements; he preserved the main characters from the previous composition – the dying person's body and the winged genius – but he added two more characters – another winged genius and a woman, mother or wife, who laments the passing of the dear one. The work is constructed around a horizontal axis that delimits two planes: life, in the upper part, and death, in the lower part. The dying body, lying on the catafalque, is placed in the center of the image, at the border between the two planes (Fig. 6). There is also a vertical axis, formed by the position of the two angels' wings, that leads one's gaze towards the sky, while through the position of their arms they lead the gaze towards the ground. The composition follows a sinuous line, balanced between the lower and upper planes, and induces to the viewer a feeling of continuous symbolic move back and forth between life and death.

In order to maintain the funeral atmosphere, Smigelschi chose a type of classical representation of his characters. The work resembles an antique frieze, with the characters, dressed in draped robes, with numerous folds, communicating through theatrical gestures. The entire composition seems to remind of classical funerary visual art, taken up again in nineteenth-century works of art. St. Peter's basilica hosts one of Antonio Canova's masterpieces, the *Monuments of the Royal Stuards* (1819), made of white marble as a funerary stela, with two winged angels of death guarding the entrance to the tomb, both holding lowered torches. Another monument that contains the same depiction of the angel of death with a lowered torch is the funerary stone of Georg Ludwig Ritter von Maurer (1872), in Munich. Besides, the use of angels as symbols of Thanatos or of angels mourning the fate of the deceased is rather frequent among pieces of funerary art created in the end of the nineteenth century. Such angels are depicted holding lowered torches, leaning on broken columns, symbols of broken lives, placing flowers or palm branches, symbols of martyrdom, or blowing the trumpet, symbolizing resurrection. This type of monuments is spread throughout East-Central Europe, including Transylvania.[47]

[46] Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque first had the idea of using collage as an independent artistic means of expression around 1910, with the series *papiers collés*.

[47] For examples see Sabău 1997, 8–14.

The new formulation (Fig. 6) focuses on an emaciated body, almost dying, placed on a catafalque, with the right hand hanging. The image reminds of a *Deposition*[48] or a *Lamentation of Christ*.[49] Around the end of the nineteenth century, art in Central Europe included numerous depictions of Christ of the catafalque; I would like to mention here Franz von Stuck's work entitled *Pieta* (1891), in fact inspired by Hans Holbein's painting, Arnold Böcklin's work *Mary Magdalen Deplores the Dead Christ* (1867), and Max Klinger's two *Pietas* (1885 and 1894).

As a means of image composition, under the formal aspect one must note the influence of classical representations of the Hypnos – Thanatos pair. They accompanied the bodies of Sarpedon, Memnon, or Patrocles, in works of art that sent a message on the cult of the warrior, the image of the hero fallen in battle.[50] In these compositions, angel Thanatos, placed at the feet of the catafalque, held a sword. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the artist's formation and the moment when he created the *Angel of Death* series, I believe that the message behind this composition is rather spiritual-religious in nature, and not the illustration of a scene inspired by some classical antiquity episode, even if the visual means of expression employed are classical. At the same time, through a closer analysis of the photographs and of the collage made for the *Angel of Death* series, one can note, in two of the variants (Fig. 6 and 8d) certain scratched interventions around the head of the character by the head of the catafalque that suggests the contour of a possible halo. Also, on the right side, near the angel that leans over the dying man, one can identify the contour of a candle holder that should have supported the candle.

The same approach was used in the series of works entitled *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* that Smigelschi created during the same period; it is also conceived as an antique frieze, resembling the group of the Niobides,[51] for which the artist started from the same statuettes he used for the *Angel of Death*. The work employs a visual language borrowed from ancient art; the end result is classicist, but the topic is Christian – Biblical. During that period, Max Klinger reached for similar effects in works such as *Christ on Olympus* (1897) or *The Crucifixion* (1890).[52]

If one accepts this interpretation, then, through association, the dying young man is a Christian and becomes a symbol of self-sacrifice and salvation. At the same time, he has no particular traits, as the artist chose to render the face of an unknown man that should symbolize all those taken by death at a young age.[53] Smigelschi maintains the depiction of the pillow under the character's head (Fig. 8c), probably a reminder to the disease, an element that made reference to the connection between sleep and death. The character is

[48] For Christ's body on the catafalque, Vătășianu indicates as possible sources of inspiration works such as Hans Holbein the Young's *Entombment of Christ* (Kunstmuseum Basel) or those made by Symbolist artists from Central Europe: Arnold Böcklin's *Mary Magdalen Deplores the Dead Christ*, one of Franz von Stuck's *Pietas* or his *Death*, and one the prints in Max Klinger's series *A Love*. Vătășianu 1936, 34.

[49] This composition might have been influenced by Botticelli's work preserved in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich that Smigelschi knew and had used before as a source of inspiration for iconographic scenes in his compositions on religious topics.

[50] Burton 2005, 48–49.

[51] Vătășianu 1936, 80–82.

[52] Lenman 1997, 96–97.

[53] Sabău 1972, 53.

strongly foreshortened, seemingly hiding his face from the angel's gaze. The latter wears a richly draped robe that Smigelschi chose in order to visually support the state of tension[54] (Fig. 7a) and is depicted while rushing over the body tormented by the embrace of death (Figs. 7a, 8c, 7b). On the other side of the catafalque, the female character tries, in a tender gesture, to touch the young man's feet in order to comfort him (Fig. 8a). In the case of this character as well, the artist in interested in rendering the draping as detailed as possible (Fig. 6, 8a); its image was constructed by putting together pieces cut out from several photographs, selected according to the way in which they managed to render the different pieces of costume. In Fig. 6 one can see these strips of photographs that were collated on cardboard. The second angel (Fig. 6, 8a) extends its wing in a comforting, protective gesture, closing the composition to the right. In detail photographs it is depicted holding an undefined object that I believe was only included in the picture so that the artist could render, through drawing, the position of the angel's hands. In the color variant the item probably became a lowered torch, an element that supports the rhythm of the composition and is also a symbol of death probably inspired by funerary art, where Thanatos was depicted as a winged genius holding a lowered torch or a sword.[55]

In this stage, Smigelschi employs few artistic means and few elements; he purifies the image and manages to transmit two types of messages: death associated to sleep and the feeling of isolation associated with death. Smigelschi makes reference to universal Christian values, such as the sacrifice of the body for the salvation of the soul, to already established images in western European art, to an iconographic type that includes all the spiritual values that it has subsumed during time. He also uses an image that circulated and was reinterpreted in European visual art contemporary to the activity of the Transylvanian painter under discussion by established artists such as Arnold Böcklin and Max Klinger.

***The age of the pillow*. Smigelschi and death in European painting.**

With this topic, Octavian Smigelschi enters the notional area of allegorical-metaphorical Symbolism, born from the morbidity and decadentism typical to the end of the nineteenth century. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the imaginary of death had already been enriched with numerous literary studies, where death became both object and subject, both a symbolic and an aesthetical element.[56]

On the level of artistic creation, death was the preferred topic of German Romanticism and was subsequently taken over in the entire European area through the mediation of Symbolism. This latter movement, defined as an ideological and artistic style, reached almost all geographical corners of Europe. Almost all artists during this period were attracted at some point to Symbolism, even if only some of them continued along this direction throughout their entire artistic career. Thus, between 1885 and 1910, significant artists shared the same concept and state of mind.[57]

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[54] N. Sabău makes reference to the symbol of the falling curtain, marking the end of life, see Sabău 1972, 52.

[55] I thank Prof. Dr. Nicolae Sabău for this suggestion.

[56] Nicoară 2004, 269; Ariès 1977, 517.

[57] The Symbolist movement spread throughout Europe, from Paris to Helsinki and Barcelona, from London to Milan, through Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, Austria, and Switzerland, reaching even the United States. For more data see: Mathieu 1990, 8.

One of the main common points in the program of the Symbolist movement was the goal of communicating a personal message, spiritual, religious, or moral in nature, through words, shapes, or color.[58] In their acts of communication, artists used a certain set of signs and symbols, a meta-language in which everything was allegory and metaphor; beside the common arsenal of means of expression, each creator developed his/her own set of images and correspondences. Another shared trait of the Symbolists was their rejection of the new type of bourgeois society that was strongly anchored in reality. The Symbolists rather focused on a mystical, esoteric, surreal, and utopian world.[59] Death made its way among the topics approached by artists in the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and it received numerous forms and visual formulations, just as varied as they were personal. 'Death establishes itself endemically into the very essence of beauty; it manifests itself chronically, corrosively, in an irradiant manner as compared to the creative capacity, and somewhat complementarily to it.'[60] Death exerted a special fascination and its imaginary received surprising traits in allegorical scenes, visual metaphors that expressed ideas connected to the implacable destiny and one's passage to the world beyond, an unknown, most often frightening world. Death received several faces, some of them already established as such: Charon,[61] destructive demon,[62] specter,[63] skeleton,[64] dance of death,[65] decomposing bodies, genius, angel,[66] or sandglass. Personified as Thanatos, the infernal genius, death captures its victims by force; images of this kind stress the perishable nature of existence. Death was seen also from a medical

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[58] Mathieu 1990, 9.

[59] Schneckenburger, Honnef 2005, 23.

[60] Micu 2011.

[61] The most representative work is *The Island of Death (*1883), an allegory with occult tones, created by the Swiss artist Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901), where death is rendered as the mythological character Charon, depicted as a white figure sailing a funerary boat towards an island with cypresses. The work was ordered by a window who wished to commemorate her husband's death. Arnold Böcklin's morbid accents can be explained by certain personal events such as losing five of his eleven sons; this explains very well the genesis of his creation. See Hagen, Hagen 2005, 662–667.

[62] Hungarian painter Mihály Zichy (1827–1906) created a large painting entitled *The Triumph of the Genius of Destruction* (1878) where death is a winged god that governs a world placed in the middle of chaos, Gellér 2007, 4.

[63] Artist László Mednyánszky (1852–1919), under the influence of painter Odilon Redon, made several works on the topic of death, such as the *Memento* (1895).

[64] In the German area, artist Max Klinger (1857–1920) defies death through his work entitled *Der Pinkelnde Tod* ('Peeing Death') dated around 1880, where death is depicted as a skeleton. At the same time, the artist Arnold Böcklin, in his *Vita sommnium breve* (1888) creates a *memento mori* in which he opposes life, symbolized by two rosy children, and death, symbolized by a funerary monument above which a skeleton decapitates an elderly person.

[65] For the German artist August Brömse (1873–1925), death lures its victim to join the dance of death, in his work entitled *The Girl and Death* dated around 1902.

[66] Death is rendered as an angel in the painting entitled *The Death of a Gravedigger* created by the German painter Carlos Schwabe (1866–1926) before 1900. The British artist George Frederic Watts (1817–1904) dedicated an entire series of works to the topic of death; among the best known one can mention *Death Crowning Innocence* and the *Angel of Death*, dated 1886–1887, born from a personal event in the artist's life, the death of his grandson; the latter depicts an angel in a gesture of profound pity, holding in its protective arms a dead child (Mathieu 1990, 39). Around 1895, Simeon Solomon (1840–1905), a Pre-Raphaelite painter, portrayed a relentless angel in his work *The Angel of Death*. See Swinglehurst 1994, 42–43.

perspective,[67] as result of disease, poverty, human destiny or as a challenge for medicine.[68] There are also meditative works dedicated to death and resurrection, personal meditations of the artists on their own death[69] or works making reference to Christian faith, to salvation through sacrifice.[70] Death was represented in the classical pair Eros-Thanatos, in which, according to the Freudian theory, Eros stands for the instinct of the human species for life, love, and sexuality, while Thanatos stands for the instinct for aggressiveness, destruction, repulsion, and death.[71] At the same time, death was depicted in a realistic manner, in works that became files on one's passing to the other world, such as in Ferdinand Hodler's series of works that document the death of his partner, Valentine Gode-Darel.[72]

Many artists who created in the 19th century went through personal dramas, with similar approaches. This type of representation of the patient on the suffering bed, next to the bedside table on which the medicines are placed, is often found in works from the European space from the same period, in works such as *Franz Heinrich Corinth on his sick bed* (1888) by German artist Lovis Corinth or Christian Krohg's, *Sick Girl.* At the same time the artist Stanisław Grocholski in the work *Death of the Orphan* (1884) used the candle as a symbol of the ephemerality of human hopes, in this case the flame was extinguished by the wind. Edvard Munch's *The Sick Child* series (1885–1896) seems to start with the tuberculosis death of his sister, Sofia. We can also notice in this case the pillow that supports the child's body, the bedside table with the medicines and the blanket that covers it. And Munch has dedicated many years to this theme. Referring to this moment in his creation, Munch summed it up very clearly in the expression *The Age of the Pillow*.[73] And in the case of Smigelschi the common element in all the representations of Cornel Smigelschi is the pillow that supports the head of the sick, then of the dying but also the light element in the works in which the young Cornel is represented idealized beyond reality and time.

In the same context I wish to mention the atmosphere of Max Klinger's two series entitled *Vom Tode* (part 1, 1889; part 2, 1898–1909), where in works such as *Kind, Arme familie*, or *Tote Mutter*[74] death insinuates in daily life and inexpediently abducts, without exception, children or mothers, leaving behind stupefied and grieving members of their families. From the same series one can mention the work entitled *Tod als Heiland* in which the artist presents an allegory of death seen from several perspectives: the fear of death,

[67] In the Victorian environment one can note in this category the work entitled *The Doctor* (1891) painted by Luke Fields (1843–1927), where the artist envisages a child on his dying bed, assisted by his family and his doctor.

[68] In the Austrian area, Gustav Klimt exploits this idea in the work *Medicine* (1900–1907), in which death is symbolized by bodies that have decayed to the state of skeletons.

[69] Among the best-known works one can mention Arnold Böcklin's *Self Portrait with Death* (1872), in which death, as a skeleton playing the violin, leans with curiosity over the shoulder of the artist who is seated in front of his easel.

[70] The works *Pieta* (1877 and 1879) painted by Arnold Böcklin stand along this direction beside the work *Pieta* (1881) created by the German artist Franz Stuck (1863–1928). In the English environment, Frederick Watts chooses to depict death as a dead body lying on a catafalque, in his work *Sic transit* (1891).

[71] In the allegorical painting *Death and life* (1910) Klimt portrays death as skeletons that looks, with a malefic smile upon its face, towards life that is depicted a group of people of all ages. See Néret 2007, 24, 70.

[72] I thank Dr. Robert Born for this suggestion.

[73] Bordin, D'Ambrosio 2010, 315.

[74] Varnedoe, Streicher 1977, 87–88.

death as a saving angel, the tomb and the dead body, and the suggestion of a funerary monument; the images are supported by text: 'We run from the way in which death appears, but from death itself, because our greatest wish and objective is death.' [75]

In the *Angel of Death* series, Smigelschi creates a dark atmosphere that one can associate with the Symbolist topics he approached mainly during the period between 1894 and 1912. Such works were grouped in several thematic series such as *The Angel of Death*,,[76] *The Quartet*,[77] *Hora ielelor (The Dance of the Fairies)*, and *Spring*. The new chosen topics and their approach attest to the artist's intention of creating a new type of art, that would surpass the artistic canon imposed by the Transylvanian community whose members were not aware of the new developments in western art but preferred genres such as portraiture, landscape, religious topics, and especially the large compositions depicting historical or national subjects. In creating his works on Symbolist subjects, the artist employed the means and knowledge acquired during his studies; his works can be included in the aesthetic paradigms and visual language typical to European Modernism with the peculiarities of the East-Central European artistic environment. Octavian Smigelschi was educated at the School for Art Teachers in Budapest (*Országos mintarajziskola és rajztanár-kepző*), in a context dominated by a plurality of styles, where one could encounter all artistic forms: from Realism and Naturalism to the Plein-Air and Impressionism, where the art of the Pre-Raphaelites met Symbolism and Art Nouveau.[78] Despite the fact that on an academic level the official system was out of date, dominated by naturalist painting and the accurate depiction of reality, the new artistic ideas and styles, already established in Western Europe, had reached the artistic groups in Budapest.[79] Resistance reactions started, as elsewhere in Europe, parallel to the rigid politics of the academy and against traditionalist painting, that later turned into new artistic movements. In case of the Hungarian area and, implicitly, that in Transylvania, the innovations were tempered and adapted to local specificities. The most significant contributions to the acceptance of the new artistic directions were brought by the main art periodicals, such as *Művészet*, the phenomenon of collecting, but also by art colonies such as the one in *Gödöllö*,[80] where the participants were influenced by Pre-Raphaelite creations made in the British environment, or the School of Baia Mare,[81] where the new ideas came from the French environment, via Munich. These enclaves of modernity were the result of the new ideas that the artists had encountered during their studies at western European academies. Returned home, they tried to reform the local artistic world, mainly by educating public taste, in order to make the public accept the new tendencies born in the art of the great cultural centers such as Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, Munich, and Berlin.

In the manner in which Smigelschi deals with the *Angel of Death* topic, one can identify all the stages that he went through during his artistic education. In a first state

[75] Varnedoe, Streicher 1977, 65.

[76] Vida 2002, 176–177.

[77] Gruiță-Savu 2013, 354–355; Vida 2002, 176–177.

[78] Gellér 2007, 3.

[79] Mesea 2007, 16–17.

[80] Németh 1981; Gellér 2007, 5–9; Szabó 1994, 43–45.

[81] For more information see Sármány-Parsons 2008, 224–225; Sármány-Parsons 2000, 321–356; Alexa 2007a, 69–78; Alexa 2007b 101–110; Şorban 1996; Muràdin, Szücz 1996.

of composition elaboration he chose a naturalistic approach, under the influence of German Romanticism, while later he adopted means of expression typical to Symbolism and the new *Secessions*, under direct influence of his research trips in Munich[82] (where he first came in contact with Arnold Böcklin's works[83]), Vienna, Dresden, and, later on, to Italy, in Venice, Florence, Ravenna, and Rome.[84] The Hungarian cultural environment in which Smigelschi studied was under the direct influence of the Fine Arts Academy in Munich that in fact dominated the entire East-Central European area in the beginning of the twentieth century.[85] The dream world, obsessions, and personal fears were a constant presence in western European art; anxiety was transposed into symbolist forms, such as in Max Klinger's cycles of works entitled *A Glove – Anxieties* and *One Death*, or in Ferdinand Hodler's *Night*.

Most of Octavian Smigelschi's works were made on order or for sale, but it is obvious that the Symbolist works had no pecuniary purpose, but were precisely those personal attempts in which he took the liberty of employing new artistic means, of experimenting with compositional types, always in search for a certain balance, for musicality, and the harmony typical to the new directions in European painting in the beginning of the twentieth century. But, due to the same reasons, he was not constant in his efforts for these new works and they rarely benefit from final formulations; the artist was unable to go beyond the level of composition sketches, to which he returned whenever he had the time and which he believed could still be improved. The *Angel of Death* topic did not particularly raise the interest of his contemporaries; neither was it appealing to specialists later on, precisely because Smigelschi did not complete this project.[86] The subject received a few lines in Vătăşianu's monographs;[87] the art historian from Cluj dedicated less than a single page to his impressions on the *Angel of Death*, providing several analogies for Smigelschi's second compositional variant; a similar type of approach can be encountered in the analysis of art historian Gheorghe Vida.[88] Iulia Mesea,[89] Nicolae Sabău,[90] and Negoiţă Lăptoiu[91] have also mentioned, in passing, this cycle of works.

The present article completes the data provided by the above-mentioned art historians, shifting the focus onto the creative process, the way in which Smigelschi rendered a concept

[82] His first research trip was to Munich, in 1886; then, between 1890 and 1891, he traveled several times to Vienna, Munich, and Dresden. Between 1898 and 1899 he studied in Venice, Ravenna, and Florence. In 1909, he settled in Rome, where he worked until 1912, see Vătăşianu 1936, 7–8; Sabău 1972, 50.

[83] Arnold Böcklin's influence on the works of Octavian Smigelschi and the group of artists from Sibiu was often mentioned in specialized literature. See: Vătăşianu 1982, 10; Roth 1908, 203; Starcky 1995, 17. For more information on Böcklin's impact on European art see Machand 2004, 148–149.

[84] He lived in Rome for a longer period, between 1908 and 1912. Lemény 1911, 6; Vătăşianu 1936, 13–14.

[85] For more data on the reception of the influence of Munich in Europe see: Jooss, Fuhrmeister 2006.

[86] *The Angel of Death* features on the cover of the newspaper *Cosânzeana,* see *Cosânzeana* 1913, cover. The following comment accompanied the reproduction: 'Octavian Smigelschi: The Angel of Death. One of the most wonderful paintings of our much-regretted painter. Numerous sketches and drawings connected to this depiction indicate that the angel of death was among Smigelschi's preferred topics. It has been much admired in the exhibition.'

[87] Vătăşianu 1936, 33–34; Vătăşianu 1982, 32–33.

[88] Vida 2002, 176–177; Vida 2007, 33–39.

[89] Mesea 2007, 19–21.

[90] Sabău 1972, 50–53.

[91] Lăptoiu 1979, 289–291.

visible, the way in which his vision developed over time, in direct relation to the events that marked his life. I believe that it is important to follow the mechanisms that have generated this series, the way in which the artist selected, included, or excluded different characters and symbolic elements, changed the posture of the characters in order to best express his feelings. This type of analysis contributes to the dating of studies elaborated for this series, by establishing their chronological succession. I was able to place the series in the artist's entire creation and to correlate it to other contemporary works of art.

One can thus make the connection between the first series of works dedicated to the *Angel of Death* and the works created between 1890 and 1892, *Child Sleeping*, *Interior*, and Cornel Smigelschi's portrait, in which the artist depicts his sick brother, before dying. The works are realistic; they render daily life aspects and in fact immortalize the young man's last two years of life. The subsequent works are dated to the 1893–1894 period and are the first formulations of the *Angel of Death* composition. They take over some of the realistic elements and show Cornel Smigelschi during his last moments. The composition and character studies vary between the representation of death as a beneficial – rescuing element, or, on the contrary, a negative – threatening one. The studies are continued by two compositions, made in 1895, one of which is the final form that he paints in color. The final solution of this series was created seven years after Cornel Smigelschi's death, in 1899, when the artist painted the work entitled *Child reading*, evoking his brother's image and excluding completely the presence of death.

The present study also aims at providing new interpretative alternatives to the two series of works by including extra biographic information related to the cause of his brother's death, for the first series, and to the artist's own sickness and the context that generated the second series of works.

At the same time, for the second series of works I included in the analysis previously unpublished photographs from the collection of the Smigelschi family and from public collections that have revealed the artistic means that Octavian Smigelshi employed in the elaboration of his works. Photography and collage as intermediary stages in the elaboration of composition studies were new in the context of Transylvanian art; I was unable to find similar examples there during that period.

Octavian Smigelschi was an isolated case in Transylvanian painting,[92] but through his theoretical education and research trips he rather found kindred spirits among European artists. By choosing the *Angel of Death* topic, through the way he expressed his personal feelings through a metaphorical language borrowed from the new trends of European art, through the way in which he reached, on a compositional level, for a visual rhythm in order to create the desired atmosphere, Smigelschi proved that he fully understood the principles and integrated the language of European Symbolism.[93]

[92] Besides the *Angel of Death* cycle of works, Octavian Smigelschi also made several other studies focusing on the topic of life and death or the ephemeral nature of the human being. One can mention *The Funeral*, a study preserved in the MNB collection, beside other works that depict village life scenes. There is also a sketch in the graphic works collection of the Art Museum in Cluj that depicts a self-portrait and a small child, still crawling, probably the artist's younger daughter; Smigelschi added a calligraphic note: *Sic transit gloria mundi*, thus associating the two images, of childhood and maturity, as a meditation on life and its perishable nature.

[93] Gellér 1990, 155–156.

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Fig. 1. *Angel of Death*, final variant, oil on wooden panel, dated ca. 1895, unsigned (Colecția MNB, no. 1560).

Fig. 2. Composition study for the *Angel of Death*, ink on paper, dated ca. 1894–1895, unsigned (Colecția MNB, no. XI 97; image by Ioana Gruiță-Savu).

a.

b.

c.

d.

Fig. 3. Studies for the *Angel of Death*: **a.** Composition study, pen, undated, unsigned; **b.** detail sketch, pencil/Indian ink on paper, unsigned, undated; **c.** detail study, ink on paper, unsigned, undated; **d.** study, ink on paper, unsigned, ca. 1890 (Colecția MNB, nos. XI 263, XI 242, XI 264, and XI 234; no. XI 264; images by Ioana Gruiță-Savu).

Fig. 4. *Interior*, pen on cardboard (Colecția Arch. V. Smigelschi, taken after Iorga 1963, cat. 2).

a.

b.

c.

Fig. 5. a. *Young man reading*, tempera on cardboard, signed down right, Smigelschi, 1896 (private collection; image by Ioana Gruiță-Savu); **b.** Portrait of Cornel Smigelschi, tempera on cardboard, ca. 1892 (Colecția Marius Smigelschi; image by Ioana Gruiță-Savu); **c.** *Young man reading*, oil on canvas, ca. 1899–1902 (Colecția MNB, no.1669).

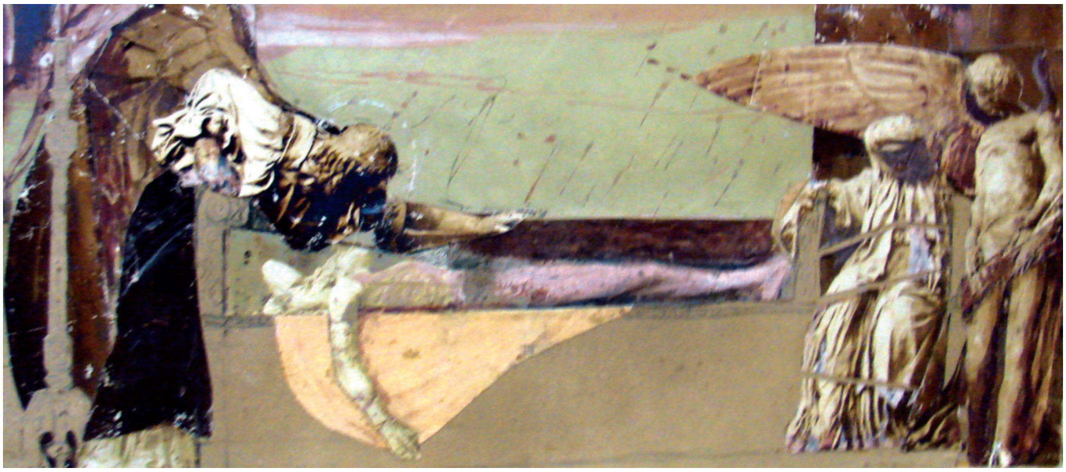


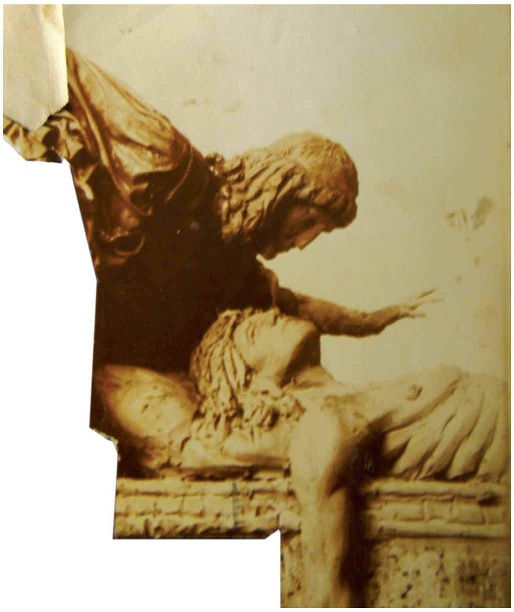
Fig. 6. Study for the *Angel of Death*, mixed media (collage/pencil/pen), unsigned, undated (Colecția MNB, no. XI 146; image by Ioana Gruiță-Savu).

a. b.

Fig. 7. a. Preparatory study for the *Angel of Death*, photograph negative (Colecția Ioana Șetran, Bucharest; taken from Sabău 1972, 51); **b.** Study for the *Angel of Death*, photograph (Colecția Ioana Șetran, Bucharest; image by Ioana Gruiță-Savu).

a.

b.



c.

d.

Fig. 8. *Angel of Death*: **a-b.** photograph negative cut out by the artist; **c.** photograph negative; **d.** cut out photograph (Colecția Ioana Șetran, Bucharest; images by Ioana Gruiță-Savu).

Fig. 9. Study for *Funeral*, Indian ink, unsigned, undated (Colecția MNB, no. XI 116; image by Ioana Gruiță-Savu).

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UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS AND THE INTERVENTION IN THE YEMENI CIVIL WAR (1963–1964)

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Abstract: The tumultuous 1960s brought a multitude of inter- and intrastatal conflicts in international relations. Some of them derived from extinguished disputes as a subsequent effect of the decolonisation, while others were motivated by the aggressive intentions of states to conquer other states. An example was the Yemeni Civil War (1962–1970) which came in the spotlight of the international community because two neighbours countries, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Republic[1] involved in the internal fight. The external involvement motivated and set the scene for the United Nations Organization to intervene and mobilise a peacekeeping operation which had to observe the withdrawal of the third parties and eventually facilitate the peace process.

The study aims to analyze the UN peacekeeping mechanism, which is seen as a compromise created by the bipolarization of the international system that prevented the organization from fulfilling its task of keeping the international peace. Through the case study on the Yemeni peacekeeping operation which operated from 1963 to 1964, one could learn about how UN functioned during the Cold War years, what were the underlining processes supporting the authorization process of such an operation, about the contribution of the Secretary General to the functioning of the peacekeeping mechanism and lastly how the events in Yemen underlined the impact that the interests of involved actors had on the fulfillement of the given mandate of the UN operations.

Keywords: United Nations, Yemeni civil war, peacekeeping, UNYOM

Rezumat: Tumultoșii ani 1960 au însemnat pentru comunitatea internațională o serie de războaie inter- și intrastatale, izbucnite din cauza renașterii unor conflicte stinse, de pe urma procesului de decolonizare sau din dorința unor state de a le acapara pe altele. Un asemenea episod l-a constituit și războiul civil din Yemen din 1962–1970, care a atras atenția comunității internaționale deoarece în dispută s-au implicat și doi actori vecini, Arabia Saudită și Republica Arabă Unită.[2] Intervenția statelor a motivat și permis Organizației Națiunilor Unite să intervină în Yemen și să mobilizeze o operațiune de menținere a păcii, menită să supravegheze evacuarea terților și eventual să favorizeze un climat de pace pentru soluționarea problemei.

Studiul își propune să analizeze mecanismul de menținere a păcii al ONU, văzut ca un compromis determinat de bipolarizarea sistemului internațional, care nu a permis organizației să își îndeplinească rolul pentru care a fost înființată. Prin studiul de caz despre operațiunea de menținere a păcii din Yemen, autorizată între 1963–1964, se va putea putea observa cum a funcționat organizația în anii Războiului Rece, cum funcționa procesul de autorizare a unei operațiunii, care era contribuția Secretarului General în crearea și funcționarea mecanismul de *peacekeeping* și cum intervenția în Yemen a subliniat importanța atribuită pozițiilor actorilor implicați pentru îndeplinirea mandatului fixat.

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[1] United Arab Republic was a political union between Egypt and Syria from 1958 to 1961 and after the exit of Syria the official name of Egypt until 1971.

[2] Republica Arabă Unită a fost o uniune politică între Egipt și Siria care a durat între 1958 și 1961. După ieșirea Siriei, aceasta a fost denumirea oficială a Egiptului până în 1971.

Cuvinte cheie: Organizația Națiunilor Unite, Yemen, peacekeeping, UNYOM

Introduction

The United Nations Organization was created 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war … to maintain international peace and security.' For this purpose, a series of principles were included in Chapter VI[3] and VII[4] that created the posibility for the United Nation Organization to mantain the international peace and security. Thereby, the UN adopted the collective security principle that allowed it to respond to potential threats to the peace with a collective military effort.

The beginning of the Cold War and the bipolarization of the international system compromised the collective security system[5] envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Conferences between 1944 and 1945, which allowed the Security Council to intervene in order to prevent and solve international conflicts. The clash between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the ideological fight prevented the Council from taking a ferm stand in solving the differends,[6] as it became impossible to identify the aggressor due the interests of the two superpowers. The future of the organization, designed to solve the threats to peace and security, was seen as compromised.[7] The United Nations (hereafter abbreviated as UN) had to sidestep the obstacles created by the two superpowers[8] and identify a way through which it could play an active role in solving the international conflicts. Starting with 1947 and especially after 1956, the UN created and included among its power the ability to intervene in a dispute by mobilising a peacekeeping mission or an observation operation. Gaining specific characteristics helped the operations to sidestep the conflicts in the Security Council[9] and paved the way for the UN to intervene

[3] Chapter VI of the UN Charter includes articles 33 to 38 that mention that the organization intends to solve the differends between the states through peaceful means. The modalities through which the UN can solve problems are: giving recommandations to the involved parties, the investigation of the problem itself and it can also ask the states to fulfill the Council's resolutions which could solve the conflict.

[4] Chapter VII contains the articles 39 to 51 and provides two different scenarios through which it can solve interstatal differends. Before deciding a resolution, article 39 offers the Security Council a way to investigate the situation before deciding future actions. According to the article 40, the Council has the possibility to recommend a series of actions which can prevent the escaladation of the existing situation and to facilitate the peace process. If the previous article could not be applied, the next, article 41, offers the possibility for the Council to initiate a series of non-military actions which can determine the observation of the already given resolutions. Article 42 authorizes the Security Council to use military action in order to assure the observance of the given recommandations in order to protect and maintain international peace and security.

[5] The beginning of the Cold War influenced the behaviour of international actors and even influenced the United Nations organization as a whole. The bipolarization of the international system after the World War II was a central topic for studies starting with the end of the 1940s. See Gaddis 2005; Judt 2005; Calvocoressi 2009. For a more comprehensive approach of the Cold War impact on the United Nations, see Armstrong 2004; MacQueen 2011.

[6] MacQueen 2014, 4.

[7] MacQueen 2006, 53–54.

[8] Murphy 2007, 2.

[9] The disputes in the Security Council were largely triggered by the interests of the two international camps, each of the five powers with a permanent seat in the Council had the possibility to use the right to veto in order to prevent an UN solving to the problem. The right to veto was mostly used in the Cold War by the Soviet Union who rejected the authorization of some operations, but there were times when the Western powers

to reestablish and maintain the international peace by supervising the frontiers and the signed armistices, by interposing its forces between the combatants or by facilitating a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Such example can be found in the UN intervention in Yemen, starting with 1963, months after the organization and other interested states had tried to solve the issue in the Middle East, which could have had serious implications because of the ongoing clash between the superpowers. Therefore, right after the political system in Yemen was overthrown by a group of republican officers and after the supporters of the Imam al-Badr seeked refuge in rural areas and neighbour Saudi Arabia, a civil war sparked in the country between the two parties, each backed by a foreign power. In this context the UN made use of its new mechanism and mobilized a peacekeeping mission in order to eliminate the external factor and facilitate the peaceful solving of the issue. Later on, the Yemeni mission underlined once more the dependence the UN had on the willingness and cooperation of the actors in order to fulfill one of its mandates.

The present study will define the concept of peacekeeping, describe the aforementioned operations and analyze a case study on the UN Yemen operation that was authorized between 1963 and 1964. The paper aims to identify the underlining mechanisms and the institutional structures that supported the functioning of the UN and the conduct of UN peacekeeping operations in the Cold War years. Thereby, the analysis deals with a case study and presents diacronically the UN intervention in Yemen and how the UN mission attempted to fulfill its mandate given by the Security Council. The interests of the two superpowers would be considered in the analysis and also to what extent the actions of the involved actors were both influenced by the internal political context and the logic of the Cold War system. A special attention would be given to the discussions and negotiations in the Security Council and the role the Secretary General had in the conduct of the operation. The paper will firstly focus on presenting the literature on the UN intervention and on describing the methodological approach to the issue. After, it will define de concept of peacekeeping, the rules on which the missions were authorized and the development of the mechanism. Once this part is done, the main focus of the study will be centered on the Yemeni issue with regard to the UN intervention, as well as with later developments.

The UN intervention in Yemen did not spark the interest of the specialists on peacekeeping operations as it was overshadowed by the operation in Congo.[10] Paul Martin was the first to analyze the operation and argued that the Secretary General aimed to ascribe a political character to the mission by naming Pier Spinelli as his Special Representative in Yemen.[11] J. C. Hurewitz shortly presented the situation in Yemen as he analyzed the UN involvement in the Middle East between 1950 and 1960.[12] Another specialist, Leland Goodrich mentioned that the operation was hindered to fulfill its mandate because the

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used the veto as it was the case with France and United Kingdom in 1956 which rejected a resolution of the Council on the Suez crisis.

[10] *Operations de Nations Unies au Congo (1960–1964)* represented for the UN and for the future peacekeeping operations a sad experience. The intervention implied huge financial problems, approximatively 400 million dollars, it became a cause for dispute between the superpowers, and even led to the possibility for the USSR to lose its right to vote in the UN and around 200 men of the UN troops died, a record which it holds to this day. More on the United Nations Operations in the Congo (ONUC), see Abi-Saab 1978.

[11] Martin 1964.

[12] Harrewitz 1965.

actors refused to cooperate and observe the agreement.[13] Alan James included in his research the operation in Yemen and argued that the civil war that began in September 1962, could had serious implications, given that the two superpowers financed and backed up the actors involved in the conflict.[14] However, James only focused on the impact the conflict had on international relations and minimised the importance of some details, including the rules on which the operation was authorized or the refusal of the parties to cooperate with the signed agreements. These aspects are important as they undermined the impartiality of the operation and the peace negotiations after the appointment of Spinelli. When it presented the Yemen operation, Eşref Aksu argued that the interests of the superpowers limited the purpose and duration of the mission as they were only interested in eliminating the external intervention and not the internal source of the conflict.[15] Norrie MacQueen limits its analysis to presenting the authorization and the concrete results of the mission, without taking into consideration the evolution of the operation and the UN contribution to solving the problem. In a collective volume, MacQueen engaged a more complex examination of the mandate and the activity of the Yemeni mission but he disregarded the importance of the peacekeeping rules, which formed the base of the peacekeeping operations.[16] Thus, MacQueen's approach deals with the general context in which the operation was authorized, with the functioning mechanisms of the UN and the outcomes of the mission. A common element of the aforementioned analyses is that they paid little attention to the role that the peacekeeping rules had in organization and development of the conflict in Yemen.

The sources of the study will appeal to, in order to analyse the mentioned peacekeeping operation, are divided in two categories. The first one, represented by primary sources, contains UN official documents, transcripts and summaries of the discussions held in the Security Council, all of them available online. These would be used to shed light on the UN institutional and decisional mechanism, to reveal the positions of the international actors involved in the conflict, the mission's mandate, as well as its activity in Yemen. Secondary literature will be used to describe the context in which the operation was authorized, what were the provisions of the mandate, the position of the actors, the actual activity of the mission and also the influence the Yemeni intervention had on the subsequent function of the organization.

From a methodological point of view, the study uses a diacronical approach to present the situation in Yemen at the moment of the UN intervention. Comparative analysis will underline how external powers had not observed the provisions of the signed agreement and how their positions and interests influenced the subsequent development of the situation in Yemen. The institutional analysis will highlight the way in which the UN functioned during the Cold War in connection with the organization of the peacekeeping operations and how its institutions had to take into account the existing bipolarization to be able to fulfill their assigned tasks. The functional analysis will be used to describe the

[13] Goodrich 1965.
[14] James 1969; James 1990.
[15] Aksu 2003.
[16] MacQueen 2006; MacQueen 2013; MacQueen 2015.

functioning of the UN's peacekeeping mechanisms during the Cold War and also how the organization authorized, mandated and coordonated its peacekeeping missions.

The study will be structured in two parts. The first one will define the concept of peacekeeping, and present the rules as coined by Dag Hammarskjöld[17] in 1958. This will be followed by a functional classification of the UN interventions and a short presentation of their development. In this part of the study, it will be highlighted how the bipolarization of the international system undermined the peacekeeping mechanism formulated at the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Conferences. Moreover, the importance of the Hammarskjöld's peacekeeping rules in the functioning of the UN missions would be also underlined. In the second part, the study comprises a case study on the UN intervention in Yemen with the purpose of highlighting the UN's institutional mechanisms responsible for the authorization of the peacekeeping mission, and also the conflicting interests of the actors regarding the intervention, the discussions in the Council, and lastly, the mandate of the operation and its activity. The importance of the case study on Yemen is given by the consequences the operation had on the subsequent development of the peacekeeping mechanism in that it provided a valuable lesson: the peacekeeping mission was bound to fail if the involved actors didn't respect their commitments even when they were directly financing a UN mission.

Peacekeeping operations during the Cold War: definition and development

Definition

In the early Cold War years, the UN did not have the opportunity to make use of the articles of Chapter VII to supervise and maintain international peace and security, but during the secretariate of Dag Hammarskjöld, the organization appropiated the means of preventive diplomacy. One of its most common tool, the peacekeeping operations (included in the peacekeeping concept), was developed at the beginning of the Cold War to prevent local tensions to escalate into a global conflict between the two superpowers. After the success of the Suez operation in 1956, identified as the first *per se* peacekeeping operation, the UN institutionalized and formalized the concept of peacekeeping and formulated a series of rules to be followed in the future operations. From a legal point of view, peacekeeping was not included in the articles of the UN Charter, and few debates regarding its legality sparked, mainly because of the Soviet opposition to the mechanism, who saw it as a tool serving the West interests. Thus Hammarskjöld included peacekeeping in the imaginary 'chapter 6 ½,' which collated articles from Chapter VI and VII. Because of its connections with both Chapters VI and VII, peacekeeping belongs to a 'gray area' between the peaceful solution of conflicts/mantaining the peace and military intervention/peacemaking. Peacekeeping legality can be derived from the Security Council resolutions which has the possibility to address recommandations regarding international peace and security, and also from the dispositions of the two mentioned chapters.

During the Cold War, the UN authorized a number of 13 missions, some of which managed to fulfill their mandate while some failed to do so. The operations had a common goal, that of achieving the world peace. They were also supposed to perform other tasks, including the de-escalation of regional conflicts through the observation of armistices

[17] Dag Hammarskjöld was the UN Secretary General between 1953 and 1961.

and common borders, the administration of a territory or a state, the supervision of troop withdrawals in order to facilitate the peace process. However, the Cold War missions were deeply influenced by the global context of the bipolarization of the international system. As a result, they had to adapt to local conditions, bearing some restrictions which hindered occasionally the solving of the conflict. Some of the well-known operations are those in Palestine, Kashmir, Cyprus, Lebanon, where the UN troops remained. That was because they failed to create a lasting peace because of the differends between the parties and also because the superpowers considered that it was in their advantage that these conflicts remain unsolved.[18]

It's difficult to define the concept of peacekeeping given the fact that the term was not clearly mentioned in the UN Charter and it evolved in time and also it had to be adapted to local conditions. Ray Murphy argued that because there was no standard definition of peacekeeping, a confusion remains about its components.[19] In comparison, other authors argue that the lack of a standard definition allowed peacekeeping to adapt to the new conditions and new types of conflicts in the postwar years.[20]

For the purposes of my study, I have chosen to follow the definition of peacekeeping given by Alan James, a definition that also considered its elements. Thereby, the author identified four principal elements of peacekeeping,[21] which perfectly described the missions from the so-called traditional period, comprising peacekeeping missions taking place between 1947 and 1987. Therefore, the personnel of the operation was, usually, military, organized as an army, but it could also include civilians to perform non-military activities. The values are also important, in James opinion, because they set the main guidelines for the operations. Even though they possed a military force, the missions could employ it only for self-defense purposes. The operations had to be impartial to the conflict in order to win the trust of the involved parties. If the troops failed to respect this principle, they would become involved in the conflict and thus, they were losing the peacekeeping status, as it happened in the case of the Congo mission. James argued that the functions is another characteristic of the missions. Consequently, a first function of the missions was the tension relief because the intervention of an impartial actor, whose task was to assure the observation of the truce, could facilitate the withdrawal of troops from the conflict zone and prevent the crisis to escalate into a war or discourage potential aggressors in taking hasty actions. The missions also had the function of stabilization because after an agreement was signed it could facilitate the signing of a long term peace. The third function of the operations, as seen by James, was the conflict resolution because the UN operations intervened to separate the fighting parties, to administrate the territory in question, to ensure the organization of plebiscite and so on. Another esential characteristic of peacekeeping identified by James was the context, divided in four distinctive elements. The context influenced greatly the success of a mission, which made the operation dependent on – the authorizing authority, namely, an international or regional organization; the resources at its disposal, including

[18] For an exhaustive presentation of the peacekeeping operation in the Cold War period, see Luard 1982, 1989.

[19] Murphy 2007, 1.

[20] Sitkowski 2006, 2.

[21] James 1990, 2–8.

available troops and equipment; the position of the host state or states, which determined if peacekeeping troops were allowed to be deployed or not; and the cooperation of all involved actors, which was vital for an operation to be successful and fulfill its mandate. This was important because the full cooperation ensured that all parts observe the terms of the UN mission and thus, remained impartial.

The Dag Hammarskjöld's Peacekeeping Rules

Peacekeeping operations were authorized based on previous experiences, lessons, and rules. Later on, they became operational and ensured that every mission observed the provisions of the UN Charter and greatly influenced its success.

If the first UN operations were based on the League of Nations' missions during the interwar period,[22] the operations authorized in the Cold War years had to observe both the division of the world in two camps and the provision of the UN Charter. Therefore, after the UN intervention in Suez in 1956,[23] Dag Hammarskjöld made use of the lessons of the Suez mission and converted them into rules with the purpose of serving as the basis for the future similar interventions.

During the November 1958 General Assembly, Hammarskjöld presented a report on the success of the UN intervention in Suez[24] and later on, he presented a set of rules which he considered necessary for the authorization and success of future peacekeeping operations. Before presenting the rules, he mentioned that the specific elements of the UN intervention in Suez were unlikely to be copied in a new intervention. Hammarskjöld continued with the presentation of the identified rules, starting with the three most important, which are still used in the authorization of peacekeeping operations.[25] The consent of host states was one of the most important because it created the way through which the UN could intervene in the conflict between states and sidestepped the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7.[26] The second rule, impartiality, ensured that the UN troops were not going to be a party in the conflict and that they were not taking any side. This was a means to ensure the cooperation of involved actors because the UN remained neutral to the ongoing conflict and only aimed at a peaceful solution of the problem. The third rule mentioned that force was authorized only for self-defense. This rule, seen as the compromise in the negotiations with the superpowers, included peacekeeping somewhere between Chapter VI and VII. That was because, even though it had the necessary force, the operation could not impose a resolution.[27] Besides these three rules, later informally

[22] The League of Nations also mandated peacekeeping operations in the interwar period, but most of them overviewed the organization of plebiscites as it was the case in the Schleswig or Saar regions. See MacQueen 2006, 23–43.

[23] United Nations Emergency Force (1956–1967) was mandated by the General Assembly to supervise the withdrawal of British and French troops from the Suez Canal and to determine Israel and Egypt to respect the already signed armisticies. For a study right after the wihdrawal of UNEF, see Matthews 1967.

[24] A/3943, October 1958.

[25] Langholtz 2010, 41–49.

[26] The mentioned article didn't permit an external entity to intervene in internal affairs of a state, with the exception in which the state agreed to the intervention or the provisions of the Chapter VII were applied.

[27] The rule can be seen as a direct consequence of the involvement of UN in the Korean War when it used the Chapter VII to authorize the United States intervention. Since then, the USSR opposed any resolution which provided the opportunity for the UN to military intervene to solve a dispute.

known as the 'holy trinity' of peacekeeping,[28] Hammarskjöld coined other rules which permitted the operations to be authorized and overcome the bipolarization of the postwar world. Thereby, the five permanent members of the Security Council should not send troops and following an agreement with the host states, forces enjoyed free movement in order to fulfill their mandate. The financing of operation from the UN general budget was another rule coined by Hammarskjöld. However, after the enormous costs of the Congo operation,[29] it was accepted that operations should only be financed from additional funds of UN budget or through voluntary contributions.

Before presenting the rules at the 1958 General Assembly, the Secretary General had already operationalized them in the Lebanon mission[30] and later put them at the basis for the Congo intervention. Dag Hammarskjöld was followed as Secretary General by U Thant who continued his work and adopted Hammarskjöld's means of preventive diplomacy. The new Secretary General authorized five peacekeeping operations between 1962 and 1965[31] based on the rules coined by his predecessor in 1958. Among these operations was the Yemeni mission which run at the same time with UN intervention in Congo, and observed and followed faithfully the peacekeeping rules,[32] as it will be later shown.

Evolution and periodization

The UN authorized peacekeeping operations can be classfied in one or more generations, each of them sharing different characteristics and mandates depending on the given context. Gary Wilson identified four generations of peacekeeping mission, taking into consideration their guiding principles and mandates. The first generation is the so-called traditional peacekeeping, which includes the operations authorized between 1956 and 1987. The traditional peacekeeping mission functioned as a buffer force between the former fighting parties. Thus, they supervised the borders and truce agreements in order to facilitate the peace process, the withdrawal of troops and the observation of the disengagement accord between the parties involved. The Suez mission was seen as a successful example of peacekeeping operation which the future interventions should follow closely. All the subsequent missions managed to follow the Suez crisis precedent, with the exception of the missions in West New Guinea[33] and Dominican Republic.[34] The next

[28] Bellamy, Williams 2010, 174.

[29] *Operations de Nations Unies au Congo*'s costs were estimated at approximatively 400 million dollars and led to the 'article 19 crisis' from 1963 when the Soviet Union and France were almost suspended of their right to vote in the UN because of their arrears of contribution to the UN budget. For more details on 'article 19 crisis' see Luck 1999, 233–238.

[30] *United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon* (June–December1958) intervened in Lebanon at the request of the state's president which accused United Arab Republic of infiltration in its internal affairs. See Curtis, 1964.

[31] *United Nations Temporary Executive Authority/United Nations Security Force, United Nations Yemen Observation Mission, United Nations Peacekeeeping Force in Cyprus, Mission of the Representative of the Secretary General in the Dominican Republic, United Nations India–Pakistan Observation Mission.*

[32] Current peacekeeping principles can be found at https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/principles-of-peace keeping, accessed 23 July 2020.

[33] The operations authorized for West New Guinea in 1962, *United Nations Temporary Executive Authority and United Nations Security Force*, had as a mandate the administration of the territory during the authority transition from Dutch administration to the Indonesian one. For more details, see MacQueen 2006, 107–111.

[34] *Mission of the Representative of the Secretary General in the Dominican Republic,* authorized in 1965, was a operation in which the UN cooperated with the regional organization, Organization of American States,

generation was of the missions authorized after 1987 in Namibia, El Salvador, Cambodgia, which did not follow the classical principles of peacekeeping and limit themselves to the organization of democratic elections, the administration of territories after armistices etc. The operations authorized after 1991 constitute the third generation which intervened in internal wars where the parties still fought each other and had to stop the conflict as a part of their mandate. Wilson's last generation includes the operations which aimed at peace consolidation, or peacebuilding by ensuring the democratic transition in the fallen states, the operations enjoying a multinational participation, as it was the case of the operation in Kosovo.[35]

In constrast, Harry Wiseman devised a more complex division of the Cold War peacekeeping operations.[36] The first phase, called the Nascent Period, includes the operations authorized from 1946 to 1956 in Greece, Palestine, and Kashmir, when UN experienced the peacekeeping mechanism for the first time. The second phase, the Assertive Period, refers to the operations authorized between 1956 and 1967 when the organization intervened in eight different cases to mantain the international peace and security. These misions aimed to isolate and prevent local conflicts in escalating into a superpowers' clash.[37] As between 1967 and 1973 no peacekeeping operations was authorized, Wiseman purposefully named the period the Dormant Period. The Resurgent Period from 1973 to 1978, refers to the three new UN interventions in the Middle East.[38] The last phase identified by Wiseman is the Maintenance Period from 1978 to 1985 which refers to the UN administration of the operations already authorized.[39] Wiseman periodization set us the possibility for better understand the larger context in which the operations were authorized, as well as their specific characteristics.

The next part of the study analyzes the Yemeni operation, United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (hereafter abbreviated as UNYOM) with the purpose of presenting the context in which the mission was authorized, the rules on which it was founded, the evolution of the operation and its resulting outcomes. This will be done to assess to what extent the UNYOM's organization and development observed the rules coined by Hammarskjöld.

United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (July 1963–September 1964)

After UN disengagement from Lebanon in December 1958, the organization didn't involve itself in another mission and only maintained the ones in Palestine, Kashmir, and Egypt. However, the UN intervened in another regions and authorized an intervention mission in Congo in 1960 and West New Guinee in 1962. After a year, the organization found itself involved in another observation mission in Yemen in June 1963. Here, the

which overviewed the elections in the Dominican Republic after the clashes between the different political parties. For more details, see Luard 1989, 491–514.

[35] Wilson 2014, 116–152.

[36] Wiseman 1987, cited in Fetherstone 1994, 16.

[37] The operations authorized in Suez (1956), Lebanon (1958), Congo (1960), West New Guinea (1962), Yemen (1963), Cyprus (1964), Dominican Republic (1965), and Kashmir (1965).

[38] For interventions in the Sinai peninsula, Golan Heights and Lebanon.

[39] For details regarding the mentioned phases, plus an additional one called the *Expansion Period* for the period 1985–1993, see Fetherstone 1994, 16–30.

Republican forces ousted the Imam al-Badr, and proclaimed Yemen Arab Republic in September 1962. The situation threw the country in a civil war between the Republican forces and the Royalists, each side being backed by foreign powers.

The Situation in Yemen

Yemen has a particular history in the Arab Peninsula, being a state which for almost a thousand years had Zaidists as governors, belonging to a branch of Muslim Shi'ism. Aside from this, other external factors influenced greatly the subsequent development of Yemeni state. Otoman occupation in the Northen part of the region began in the sixteenth century and intensified after the nineteenth century. Also, the establishment of British protectorat in the South, in Aden and adiacent hinterland, influenced the character of Yemeni society and politics. Thereby, the two colonial powers collided on Yemen soil at the end of the nineteenth century, and established the border between them in 1904–1905, which would later separate the Northern Yemen from South Yemen resulting in the division of the Yemeni population.

In interwar years, the region became even more divided as a result of the end of the First World War and Otoman Empire's demise. Northern Yemen declared its independence in 1918 while the British maintained their protectorate in South Yemen. The new Yemeni state had Imam Yahya Mahmud al-Mutawakkil as its first leader who was a Zaidist. He tried to unify the administration of the territory and remove the tribal and feudal elements, to ensure a greater grip of the territory by state.[40] Yahya managed to establish a theocratic, hereditary and dictatorial regime as the Imam controlled the judicial, administrative and legislative branches. However, Yahya failed to eliminate the existing tribalism and he even had to rely on tribal support, especially from Hashid and Bakil tribes.[41]

After the Second World War, the Yemeni were not happy with the current political situation and plotted against Yahya and managed to assasinate him in 1948. His son, Ahmad, followed Yahya as the leader of Northern Yemen. At first, he initiated a series of political, social and economic reforms but after a while he returned to his father's means of rulling the country. Ahmad died in September 1962 and his son, al-Badr, followed in his suits. However, he was quickly overthrown by a junta officers who proclaimed Yemen Arab Republic and requested aid from United Arab Republic (hereafter abbreviated as UAR).[42] The successful *coup d'etat* can be explained by the growing discontent of the Yemeni people toward their leader and the increasing popularity gained by Pan-arabism in the region[43] and promoted by Gamel Abdel Nasser, the president of the UAR.

After he was ousted, al-Badr seeked refuge in Saudi Arabia while his followers grouped in the strong tribalised rural parts of the country from where they directly opposed the republican government from Sana'a. A civil war started thereby between the Republican and Monarchist forces, the latter being assisted by UAR, while the former received mostly weapons from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Iran[44].

[40] Etheredge 2011, 117–121

[41] Philips 2008, 43.

[42] Etheredge 2011, 121–124.

[43] Philips 2008, 44.

[44] MacQueen 2015, 180. For a comprehensive analysis on the Yemen Civil War and its influence on the Arab Cold War, see Orkaby 2017.

External aid alarmed the international community because the civil war could escalate from a local conflict into a regional one by involving neighboring countries. The support given by the two superpowers to the sides of the conflict complicated even more the situation as it risked to become a clash between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, the two Yemeni factions chose their international allies, the Monarchists being backed by Western powers through Saudi Arabia while the Republicans by the Soviets through UAR.[45] Moreover, the conflict also created a geopolitical tension in the Arab Peninsula because the young republic was neighboring South Arabia Federation, controled by the United Kingdom. Therefore, the extension of the conflict in the region, in the South to be more precisely, threatened the British and Western interests in the region.[46] Moreover, the conflict was also a part of the ongoing Arab Cold War because the two supporting states were part of the two sides in the regional conflict, Saudi Arabia being the representative of the Monarchists regimes in the Middle East while the UAR represented the Republicans. Therefore, one can understand the eagerness of the two states to support their sides in the Yemen Civil War, besides the importance of the geopolitical factor.

International Involvement in Yemen

The involvement of the two neighboring powers motivated the international community to intervene and prevent the escalation of the conflict and, eventually, to find a way to solve the dispute between the Yemeni Republicans and Monarchists. By November 1962, the United States, through Ellsworth Bunker, were involved in a negotiation that aimed to remove the external factor and isolate the Yemeni conflict from the global confruntation.[47] Kennedy administration had a particular interest in solving the dispute because it wanted to get along with the new Arab republican goverments while keeping good relations with the conservative Arab states in the region. The Americans thought that by removing the external factor in the civil war, they would find a way to solve the internal conflict. At the end of November 1963, Washington sent a letter to Yemen, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia to offer its good services to find a peaceful solution to the civil war. The answer was positive, both external powers were interested in disengagement if the other side would do the same. King Hussein of Jordan presented a unique proposal, as he requested an impartial intervention of the UN forces to overview the withdrawal plans.

The external intervention paved the way for the UN to intervene and find a solution to the problem. While the United States were engaged in a separate negociations with the involved parties, the organization, through Ralph Bunche, followed similar paths. Secretary General U Thant aimed to make use of Hammarskjöld's tactic and thus, prevent the escalation of civil into a Cold War conflict. Between January and March 1963, U Thant received assurances from the two neighboring goverments involved in Yemen that they were interested in the UN withdrawal plan. After some discussions, a disengagement and withdrawal agreement was signed by Saudi Arabia, UAR and Yemen in April 1963.[48]

In a report addresed to the Security Council on 29 April 1963, the Secretary General presented Ralph Bunche's activity in Yemen and the content of the agreement signed by the

[45] James 1990, 302.
[46] MacQueen 2013, 180.
[47] MacQueen 2013, 180–181.
[48] Luard 1989, 360–363

three goverments.[49] Thereby, Riyad accepted to withdraw its support for the Monarchist party and forbide the use of its territory by Yemeni Monarchists leaders. At the same time, Cairo agreed to withdraw its troops sent to help the Republicans. The agreement established a demilitarised boarder of twenty kilometers between Yemen and Saudi Arabia to be supervised by UN impartial observers. UN troops also had the right to oversee in the rest of the territory and report if the external powers failed to observe the agreement. To speed up the authorization of the mission, U Thant informed the Security Council that he had already requested UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) commander, Carl von Horn, to visit the countries and discuss with their governments the details of the future UN mission and the ways for implementing the withdrawal agreement from Yemen. The Secretary General also informed that he was expecting the mandate of UN force to be no longer than three or four months and not to exceed fifty men. Approaching the issue of financing the mission, he announced that he would make use of the provisions of General Assembly Resolution no. 1862 of 1963. The resolution allowed him to engage expenses from the special funds of the UN budget up to two million dollars for purposes related to defending the international peace and security.[50]

The agreement stated that UN got involved in Yemen to eliminate the external interference in the conflict, and not to solve the civil war itself, even though Evan Luard was arguing that, by removing the external involvement, the UN could solve the war or at least limit its proportions.[51] Norrie MacQueen argued that, even though the purpose of the UN mission was to supervise the withdrawal and removal of foreign involvement, it had an active role instead of a 'passive' one. That was because it had to supervise a 20 km long demilitarized borderline.[52] Thereby, the mandate set for UNYOM as MacQueen observes, was a mixed one, combining observations and peacekeeping missions. In support for the two arguments, it can be said that the mission, being mobilised by the UN and having the attention of the international community, it both had the possibility to limit the proportions of the war and also to have a more active role in the area, as it observed and reported the disengagement process by the two external powers.

For a month, General von Horn engaged in discussions with the states' goverments involved in Yemen and concluded that there were no big hopes for a serious withdrawal. Egypt and Saudi Arabia talked about the retreat but they did not wholeheartly supported it.[53] The conclusions of the discussions were presented by U Thant at the end of May 1963.[54] They contained the main characteristics of the future mission. Thereby, the Secretary General argued that the mission was 'vital' and that it could prevent some 'serious problems in the area,' the presence of the mission being asked by all the parties involved and the intervention oulined as needed as fast as possible. U Thant thought that mission needed a maximum of 200 observers who would carry weapons only for self-defense, some of them

[49] Security Council document S/5298, 1963 (in what comes next Security Council's documents will be cited using with S and the given number of the document).

[50] General Assembly Resolution 1862, 1963.

[51] Luard 1989, 363.

[52] MacQueen 2013, 181.

[53] Luard 1989, 364.

[54] S/5321 May 1963.

to be recruited from already authorized missions.[55] It was thought that the intervention would last no more than four months and that the financing will not exceed one million dollars. The expenditure, U Thant hoped, would be supported by Egypt and Saudi Arabia. If not, he said he would made use of the provisions of Resolution 1862. Besides, the Secretary General presented a paper on the estimative costs of the future Yemen mission.[56] The discussions on the financing the Yemen intervention were deemed necessary as the mission in Congo put a great strain on the budget of the UN U Thant appointed Carl von Horn as the commander of the new UN mission in Yemen and the Secretary General said he would proceed as fast as possible to organize the mission by recruiting troops, obtaining the needed financial help from the two states involved in the civil war and lastly, by creating extrabudgetary funds.

The Secretary General decided to authorize the mission on 7 June 1963, after being informed that UAR and Saudi Arabia would bear some parts of the costs.[57] As a result of his decision, the Soviet Union's representative asked the president of the Security Council to call for a meeting which was to discuss the situation created by the UN involvement in Yemen.[58] The Soviet request can be fully understood if one takes into consideration the position of the Soviet Union that contested the increasing influence of the Secretary General over the peacekeeping missions. The Soviet representative argued that given their contribution to the maintanance of international peace and security the approval of the peacekeeping missions should be made only by the Security Council. At the meeting, which took place between 9 and 11 June 1963, the same Soviet representative presented the position of his state. Greatly influenced by the ideological issues, his speech labelled UN forces as obidient tools in the hands of the Western imperialists. He argued that the aggresor states should bear the costs of the mission. Despite this criticism, the Soviet Union did not opppose/contest the authorization of the mission because the involved states agreed with the UN involvement.[59] After the Soviet intervention, the representatives of Ghana and Maroc proposed a draft resolution that would authorize U Thant to establish the operation, asked the involved parties to observe the agreement of April 1963 and withdraw as stated.[60] Resolution S/5331 was adopted on 11 June 1963 by ten votes 'for' and one (Soviet) abstention. Therefore, United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) was authorized.

The operation was founded on the rules coined by Hammarskjöld in 1958. Thereby, the three most important principles were observed as Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic endorsed the authorization of the operation as stated in the April 1963 agreement. The mission was expected to be impartial in the conflict and deal only with the activities contained in the agreement. Also, the force was allowed only for self-defense purposes. Additionally, the UN forces were mainly recruited from contingents provided by Yugoslavia and Canada, and thus the rule forbiding permanent members of the Security Council to contribute with troops was observed, too. Regarding the financial

[55] From the missions in Palestine, Kashmir, and Suez.

[56] Estimative monthly cost of the operation was 102,400 $ with a total of 807,500 $, see S/5323, June 1963, 1–3.

[57] S/5325, June 1963.

[58] S/5326, June 1963.

[59] S/PV.1038, June 1963.

[60] S/5330, June 1963.

means, however, U Thant had to rely on a different method than the one envisaged by Hammarskjöld. Therefore, additional funds from the UN budget and contributions of Saudi Arabia and UAR were to support financially the mission.

The adoption of resolution did not improve the situation in Yemen and the two sides continued to fight one another. Through separate letters[61] sent to the Secretary General on 17 and 21 June 1963, Saudi Arabia[62] and UAR, accused each other of not observing and even flagrantly violating the agreement terms, one by bombing the enemy's territory and the other one by recruiting foreign mercenaries.

As a result, the UNYOM troops were deployed on the 600 km borderline between Yemen and Saudi Arabia where, aside from the difficulties arisen from the existing conflict, they had to face an unfriendly terrain.[63] Because of the aforementioned barriers and of its limited mandate, UNYOM was not able to report on the troop infiltrations in Yemen.[64] In the first phase, General von Horn arrived in Yemen on 13 June where he organized the deployment of first the observation troops. On 4 July 1963, 114 Yugoslavian observers from United Nations Emergency Force (hereafter abbreviated as UNEF) arrived in Yemen and were assisted by a Canadian contingent of 50 air reconnaissance troops. The report given by U Thant in September 1963, two months after the authorization, mentioned that no party had made serious efforts for disengagement and both were accusing the opposite side of violating the agreement.[65] With the consent of both goverments, the mission was financed for two more months until 4 November 1963.[66]

Evan Luard argued that despite the fact that there were minor improvals after July 1963, the agreement was unlikely to be observed given the interests of each side. Therefore, Saudi Arabia refused to suspend its aid for the Royalists unless the Egiptian troops fully retreated. In its turn, Egypt's refusal to help the government in Sana'a provided that it was sure that the Republicans could defeat the Monarchist side.[67]

Despite U Thant's efforts, the operation was limited in its means and purposes. Firstly, the mandate of June 1963 did not allow the UNYOM to intervene in the internal fight and conciliate the parties. Its role was limited to observing, investigating and reporting on the progress of disengagement of Saudi Arabia and U.A.R. Moreover, the mission had limited resources to fulfill its mandate, a limitation which motivated General von Horn to resign as commander of UNYOM in August 1963.[68]

In the report of 29 October 1963, U Thant presented few minor progresses in the disengagement of the two sides from Yemen. UAR promised that around 5,000 troops would leave Yemen between October and December 1963. At the same time, the Secretary General showed that starting with 10 September 1963 Saudi Arabia had reduced its aid for the Monarchist and thus no ammunitions or arms were found in searched convoys and that there 'were no signs of Saudi Arabian military assistance or heavy weapons in Royalist

[61] S/5336, June 1963.
[62] S/5333, June 1963.
[63] MacQueen 2013, 181.
[64] Luard 1989, 368.
[65] S/5412, September 1963, 1–5.
[66] S/5501, January 1964.
[67] Luard, 1989, 369.
[68] S/5412, 2–3.

areas visited by United Nations observers.' Despite these developments, the situation remained tensioned because no party was genuinely interested in the fulfillment of the agreement. U Thant argued that supervision of the disengagement was insufficient and UNYOM could not engage in political mediation given its limited mandate.[69] As a result, U Thant appointed Pier Spinelli as Special Representative of Secretary General in Yemen on 4 November 1963.[70] At one point, Saudi Arabia announced its decision to stop financing the UNYOM as it failed to attain its purposes. After the American intervention[71] Saudi Arabia accepted to finance the mission for two more months starting with 5 November. The episode illustrates the influence and importance that the superpowers had in authorizing and functioning of UN peacekeeping operations.

On 2 January 1964, two months after his last report, U Thant presented another one about the situation in Yemen in front of the Security Council. While he acknowledged that Saudi Arabia and UAR made some progress in their disengagement from Yemen, the Secretary General expressed his disatisfaction with the current situation and argued that the limited mandate prevented the mission from attaining its purposes. In addition, he mentioned that the mission was vital for the region's peace and security. With the accept of the two goverments, U Thant extended the mission for two additional months.[72]

The January 1964 report was the last one in which U Thant was optimistic about the disengagement process in Yemen. In March 1964, U Thant informed the Council that the aid for the Royalists increased in money and weapons but the source of the financing could not be identified. The goverments in Sana'a and Cairo argued that the support was not coming, as before, from Saudi Arabia, but from the Southern border with Federation of South Arabia. As a result, UAR increased its aid for the Republicans and sent around 2,000 troops in Yemen in the last two months. Therefore, the Secretary General expressed his dissapointment with the latest developments and thought that a stalemate had been reached which could not be overcome if the two goverments did not give up on their support for the conflicting sides.[73]

The next reports regarding the situation in Yemen were not encouraging and showed the helplessness of UNYOM in finding a method which could facilitate the disengagement and retreat of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Republic. In several instances, U Thant complained that the mandate didn't ascribe a more active role to the mission. Even though he named Spinelli in November 1963 as Special Representative, Spinelli only managed to engage in discussions with the goverments in Riyad and Cairo without reaching an agreement. Alan James argued that by appointing Spinelli, U Thant wanted the mission to have a mediation role and thus, used it to reach for a new disengagement agreement or to obtain new firm assurances for observing the April 1963 agreement.[74] However, no side showed interest in observing the provisions of the aforementioned agreement, although they reassured Spinelli of their good intentions and continued to finance the mission.

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69 S/5447, October 1963, 49–51.
70 S/5501, January 1964, 1–2.
71 James 1990, 304.
72 S/5447/Add.1, October 1963, 4–6.
73 S/5572, March 1964, 1–3.
74 James 1969, 112.

The May[75] and July 1964 reports revealed little progress about the situation in Yemen. The observers reported that there were few UAR troop movements and no aid came from Saudi Arabia. However, U Thant was disappointed with the latest results of the mission since the tension remained high. He argued that high level negotiations between President Nasser and Prince Faisal could put an end to the external intervention in the Yemeni conflict. The Secretary General approved the extension of the mission's mandate for two additional months. He remained skeptical and stated that if there were no substantial improvements in the situation in Yemen it would be difficult for him to renew the mission's mandate after September 1964.[76]

In the following months, the situation in Yemen did not improve. On contrary, it deteriorated. Evan Luard argued that when Nasser realised that the Republican government didn't have the power, nor the required strenght to put an end to the Monarchist opposition, he refused to abide the April 1963 agreement. As a result, since spring of 1964, the U.A.R. sent around 40,000 to 50,000 troops in Yemen, which made the signed agreement impossible to observe.[77]

In the September 1964 report regarding the activity of UNYOM, U Thant presented some facts about the disengagement of the two sides but they were not encouraging at all. Since August 1964, Spinelly was engaged in discussions with the three goverments about the future of the UN involvement in Yemen. He concluded that Saudi Arabia didn't want to finance the mission anymore, and Egypt did not oppose the termination of the mandate in September 1964.[78] Therefore, UNYOM was disbanded and retreated in September 1964,[79] withouth fulfilling its objectives, tasks, and mandate.

Conclusions

The mission authorized by the Security Council for the civil war in Yemen followed the model of the operation in Lebanon in 1958. That is because the mandate of UNYOM was limited to observing, investigating, and reporting on the observation of the disengagement agreement signed by Saudi Arabia and United Arab Republic. Even though U Thant wanted the mission to play a mediation role between the two states, to ensure the observance of their engagements, after November 1963 one could not notice any improvements in this regard. Cairo and Riyad showed no signs of ceasing their aid for one of the sides until they were sure that their allies were able to win the war, and thus, the Yemeni civil war was perpetuated. The Secretary General hold on to the opinion that only a high level meeting would solve the conflict. From August to November 1965, there were some discussions between Cairo and Riyad but internal Yemeni fights continued.[80] Even after the retreat of Egypt in 1967, the two Yemeni sides kept on fighting each other. In the end, the war ended only after the parties agreed to a compromise in 1970, by which a government, including representatives of the Republicans and Monarchist, was formed.[81]

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[75] S/5681, May 1964.
[76] S/5794, July 1964, 2–3.
[77] Luard 1989, 371–372.
[78] S/5927, September 1964, 1–4.
[79] S/5959, September 1964.
[80] Luard 1989, 373.
[81] Etheredge 2011, 126.

The developments following the UN withdrawal show us that the UNYOM mandate did not consider that the civil war was not the result of external interventionism, but the direct consequence of the political fight for power between two parties. Thereby, UN intentions of solving the war by excluding the external factor were altruistic but have not taken into consideration the internal factors. UNYOM exemple show that the organization was supposed to intervene in a dispute only when a third party got involved in the internal fight. The purpose of UNYOM was to remove the foreign intervention hoping that it would automatically solve the initial conflict. U Thant had a point when he complained that the given mandate was limited and the mission could not make any important improvals.

The intervention in Yemen taught the UN a valuable lesson: despite efforts to limit the external involvement in internal conflicts, it should play a more active role in preserving the international peace, including in dealing with internal conflicts. However, this scenario was not posibile given conflicting interests of the two superpowers in the Cold War. Also, the fact that the UN peacekeeping missions depended on the goodwill and cooperation of the host states limited their purposes and efectiveness. Moreover, the organization learned that its operations cannot fulfill their mandate if the states in question refused to cooperate.

Despite all these and without meeting the provisions of the mandate established in 1963, UNYOM influenced the conflict in various ways. Bringing into the attention of the international community the developments of war, it managed to limit the violent behaviour of the parties, isolated the conflict and eliminated the potential threat to international peace and security, as U Thant later admitted.[82]

To some extent, UNYOM followed the rules identified by Hammarskjöld. The mission didn't use force, that could be used only for self-defense purposes. It had the consent of the host states, despite their refusal to observe the agreement. This complicated the operation and lastly, contributed to its failure. The mission remained impartial as it did not intervene in the internal conflict. Moreover, it aimed to exclude the external intervention in the Yemeni Civil War and failed in the end. As for the troops mobilized in the mission, no permanent member of the Council sent their armies in Yemen. Aside from Canada and Yugoslavia, the states which sent troops were Denmark, Ghana, India, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan and Sweden.[83] The main difference from the 1958 principles was the financing means employed for supporting the mission. UNYOM was mandated while the Congo operation was still in progress. Additionally, the opposition of France and Soviet Union forced the UN to consider alternative means of financing the mission in Yemen. UNYOM requested the governments in Cairo and Riyad to renew the financing of the mission every two months, and thus, making the operation dependent on the goodwill of these states.

In the end it can be said that the study tried to explore and analyze the UN intervention in Yemen, it defined and periodized the concept of peacekeeping and identified the rules coined by Hammarskjold in 1958. The study also intended to explore how the rules were applied in Yemen and underlined that even though the rules set the scene for the operation to be mobilised, the UNYOM remained dependent on the cooperation of the involved

[82] S/5927, 4.

[83] S/5501, 3.

actors. However, the study didn't explore more throughly the impact the operation had on the ongoing civil war and on the Arab Cold War, how the UN troops cooperated with the internal parties and its relations with their external supporters.

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Fig. 1. Sana'a, Yemen, UNYOM Headquarters is at lower left (UN photo, no. UN7685966, https://dam.media.un.org/CS.aspx?VP3=DamView&VBID=2AM94S6CP0KA&SMLS=1&RW=1536&RH=722).

Fig. 2. Prince El Turki, Governor of Gizan, Saudi Arabia, along with two UN military observers discussing a map. (UN photo, no. UN7685965, https://dam.media.un.org/CS.aspx?VP3=DamView&VBID=2AM94S6CP0KA&SMLS=1&RW=1536&RH=722).

Fig. 3. Meeting of UN troops after the conclusion of an air patrol, summer 1963 (UN photo, no. UN7685963, https://dam.media.un.org/CS.aspx?VP3=DamView&VBID=2AM94S6CP0KA&SMLS=1&RW=1536&RH=722).

Fig. 4. UN troops leaving the Najran camp (summer, 1963). Can be seen as a metaphore of the UN withdrawal in September 1964 (UN photo, no. UN7685964, https://dam.media.un.org/CS.aspx?VP3=DamView&VBID=2AM94S6CP0KA&SMLS=1&RW=1536&RH=722).

Eighteenth-century corset with stomacher, from the crypt
of the Reformed Church in Kogălniceanu St., MNIT Collection

RESTORATION AND CONSERVATION

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CHALLENGES IN DISPLAYING ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC VESTMENTS FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

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Abstract: The focus of this paper is represented by the display of female and male clothing pieces as well as luxurious ornaments, from the premodern and modern collections of The National History Museum of Transylvania, as exhibited in the temporary exhibition *Cornucopia. Luxury in Transylvanian noble world*.[1] The aim is to underline the challenges the conservators had in mounting the items of dress, while considering the conservation restrictions (the mounting would not damage the object) as well as display requirements (an appropriate arranging of historic clothing). In order to properly display the dresses' relationship with the human silhouette and due to the fact that some of the objects required prior restoration, the mounting itself proved to be extremely challenging. Since the exhibition's curators had to work with a tight budget, that also meant that the costumes had to be mounted on standard sized, commercially available dress stands, as opposed to acquiring 'museum mannequins,' specifically designed to dress every individual object. Therefore, modern dress stands were adapted to fit the historical and archaeological garments: they were carved, cut-down, padded, while under-structures were created using horizontal and vertical tubes of cotton filled with puffed wadding sewn onto the inside of an underskirt-like structure; as a result, the mounted mannequins, captured the body-dress relationship the curators wanted, while, at the same time, considering the conservation and display requirements.

Keywords: costume mounting, museum mannequins, archaeological dress, male's dolman

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față își propune să prezinte modalitatea de expunere a unor ansambluri de vestimentație nobiliară femeiască și bărbătească, ca și a unor accesorii de lux, provenite din colecțiile pre-modernă și modernă ale Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, prezentate în cadrul expoziției temporare *Cornul Abundenței: Luxul în lumea nobiliară transilvăneană*. Scopul articolului este acela de a remarca provocările pe care conservatorii și restauratorii le întâmpină în montarea pe manechin a vestimentației istorice și arheologice, ținând cont în același timp de restricțiile de expunere (montarea pe manechin nu trebuie să deterioreze obiectul) și de cerințele unei expuneri adecvate (respectarea modalității originale de purtare). Restricțiile vestimentare din epocă și faptul că o parte din bunurile culturale expuse au necesitat intervenții de restaurare, au făcut ca toate ansamblurile vestimentare să fie extrem de dificil de montat pe manechin. Bugetul destul de restrâns acordat panotării expoziției temporare a impus montarea vestimentației pe manechine și busturi cu suport moderne, de dimensiuni standard, spre deosebire de posibilitatea achiziționării unor 'museum mannequins' confecționate din materiale neutre, personalizate în

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[1] Principal curator was Ph.D. Diana Varga. Co-curators were Ph.D. Andreea Demjen, Ph.D. Ioana Gruiță-Savu. Collection conservator was expert textile restorer Ioana Cova. Textile restorer was expert Mihaela Chetrari. Collaborators included expert textile restorer Laura Troșan and expert textile restorer Iulia Teodorescu (Astra National Museum Complex, Sibiu), consultant in costumes mount making.

funcție de particularitățile fiecărui obiect. Astfel, manechinele moderne au fost adaptate pentru ca ansamblurile vestimentare să fie expuse în condiții optime; acestea au fost căptușite, scobite și tăiate la dimensiunile necesare, li s-au adăugat suluri-suport verticale și orizontale și li s-a creat o structură-suport (plasate pe dedesubtul vestimentației), așa încât manechinele finalizate să redea exact caracteristicile ansamblelor pentru ca acestea să fie expuse in condiții optime, respectând modalitatea originală de purtare.

Cuvinte cheie: montare pe suport, manechin, rochie arheologică, dolman bărbătesc

The six costumes on display were selected based on several criteria, such as historical significance (fashion styles), artistic achievements (materials and techniques used in producing the garments), provenance, and, perhaps the most important one, the object's condition. The objects dated from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Two dresses and a male dolman from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, discovered during the archaeological excavations from 1910–1911 in the crypts of the Reformed Church on Mihail Kogălniceanu St. in Cluj-Napoca were selected, as well as an eighteenth-century women's dress, a skirt and a separate corset with stomacher, plus a nineteenth century silk dress. A condition inspection was conducted a year before mounting the exhibition in order to assess the objects' structural integrity. The exhibition curators, therefore, in accordance with the textile restorer and exhibition conservator, decided that the costumes would be displayed on body mannequins, for various reasons: a flat display would not do them credit; the garments would be properly supported on a mannequin, since the dress was, after all, meant to be worn, and, therefore, it was originally constructed to hold while being dressed; the garments would also provide the best visual representation for the visitors.[2]

The aim of the exhibition was a display of luxury and opulence (the aesthetic considerations were fundamental) and so were, consequently, the costumes themselves and their relationship with the human silhouette (female, particularly) occupied central place. The challenge was mounting the costumes on standard sized, commercially available dress stands while considering the historical context and fashion requirements (in terms of appearance and body shape) but, most importantly, the individual requirements of the dresses themselves. It was not possible to fit the objects on readily available mannequins, since the dimensions of the objects are much smaller than the modern dress stands, and, due to budget restrictions, it was not possible to acquire museum mannequins either (which would have been constructed to best suit the garments). Therefore, every torso/mannequin had to have structural alteration and additional padding and covering while special supports were created for the skirts in women's costumes, all the while bearing in mind the viewer's perception of the object as an exemplar of fashionable dress.[3]

The first costumes to be mounted were the two archaeological dresses which were restored prior to the exhibition; both dresses were discovered in 1910–1911 in the crypts of the Reformate Church on Mihail Kogălniceanu St. in Cluj-Napoca, and were, since then, restored in the 1940s at Budapest.[4] Each of the costumes consists of a skirt (made from

[2] DePauw 2017, 120.

[3] Scaturro, Fung 2016, 161.

[4] The museum, however, does not hold records of the exact duration of the restoration, nor of the methodology employed to restore the items. See Szöke 1997.

silk and metallic threads brocade), a corset and sleeves (Fig. 1). A condition inspection conducted a year before assessed that the objects were not stable enough and required restoration. The dresses suffered structural damage during long years in storage or on display in impropper manners, leading to dehidration, decoloration, tears, loses of fibers. With the restoration completed, the first step in mounting the dress was to take the exact measurements of the garments, in order to properly adjust the mannequin and avoid having to repeatedly dress and undress it, as it would provide unwanted damage.

The dress stands chosen for these costumes in particular were commercially available foam child-size mannequins, since the museum dresses are much smaller that modern clothing. The torsos needed adjustment, the sleeves and skirts needed support. The textile restorer and exhibition conservator then decided to adjust the standard mannequin for an optimum display of the archaeological dresses, studying the design of the costume and the best way to start dressing it, since mounting is a vulnerable process for the museum object. Firstly, given the size of the corset, much smaller than a modern female figure, a child size dress stand was chosen, which was afterwards padded with non-woven fabric and covered in black fabric (synthetic fibers jersey, highly elastic, pre-washed in order to remove impurities) so that the padding would be smoothened all over; padding was added particularly at the chest, waist and back in order to recreate a female figure but, more importantly, to create support for the corset, so that it would be displayed as relaxed and tense-free as possible. It was decided that a torso with no limbs would suit best, since soft arms could easily be constructed and would offer a better support for the costume's sleeves. The arms were made from pre washed cotton fabric, cut almost as long as the sleeve itself, padded with puffed wadding to create an optimum support for the sleeve's circumference. The final appearance of the costume on the mannequin was considered, and it was decided that full length arms would not be added, but instead, the soft, sleeve-long supports were sewn together to the torso at the shoulder. The skirt also required additional support so an under-structure was created using horizontal tubes of cotton filled with puffed wadding sewn onto the inside of an underskirt-like structure (Fig. 5.). The resulting underskirt, sewn onto the fabric of the torso, gave full support to the skirt, adding extra padding at the waist and hips, so that the skirt itself would rest on the understructure rather than just hang on the mannequin, while, at the same time, lending volume to the entire ensemble.

Another costume to dress a standard mannequin was one from the eighteenth century, made from silk and metal threads brocade (Fig. 2), composed from a skirt with corset and stomacher. Because a modern mannequin would not fit the costume, much smaller than the modern figure, a dress stand had to be altered. A female dress stand was chosen, but the torso had to be cut down to reduce dimensions at the breast and on the sides, since a child size one could not be used because the shoulders were not wide enough to support the corset's straps nor was it tall enough. The plastic torso therefore was carved to fit the dimensions of the corset and stomacher (part of the torso from shoulders down to the hips was sliced off to reduce its circumference but at the same time maintain the width of the shoulders) and then covered in two layers of non-woven fabric, fitted with a pre-washed jersey knit final cover (Figs. 6a–b). The back of the torso and breast area was padded additionally to create maximum support. The skirt also required extra support and the same type of underskirt was made as for the previous two dresses, using horizontal tubes

with wadding to create the proper circumference, amplified at the base and shaped to follow the train line. The underskirt was sewn onto the cover of the torso (which was carved at the hips as well to fit the skirt), the waist fitted with extra wadding onto which the skirt would rest. Apart from providing additional support, the under-covers were also used to shape the dress as it would have properly been worn; original cushions and under-structures were also attached directly on the skirt or secured around the waist (Fig. 7).[5]

A particular challenging ensemble to display was an eighteenth-century corset with stomacher (Fig. 3a), which was chosen to be part of the exhibition in order to better emphasize the fashion restrictions of the era. Since the ensemble lacked a skirt or/and a shirt, the curators together with the exhibition conservator, textile restorer and collaborators, decided to create a mount from scratch. A flat display would not do credit to the clothing pieces, nor would have a mounting on a full-dress stand. Therefore, a papier–mâché half–bust form was made, which created a hollow figure (Fig. 3b); the display mount was intended to accentuate the sculptural aspect of the garment.[6] The stomacher itself was originally worn as to elongate a woman's silhouette, extending from the neck–line to the waist, a V-shaped panel, covered in silk and metal threads brocade, as was the corset. The curators' and conservator's intension was to recreate the rigid shape of a silhouette that a corset completed with stomacher provided.

A third feminine dress completely made of silk, from the middle of the nineteenth century, was displayed also (Fig. 4.). The same type of child-size dress stand was chose, for the same reasons as with the other dresses (contemporary human sized-dress stands vs. the smaller period garments), employing the same technique in mounting it as described above (shaping and padding the torso and creating an under-skirt fitter with wadded tubes in order to recreate the bell-shape of the dress). The intension was also to create a full supporting mannequin while retaining and showing the woman's silhouette at the time.

The male's dolman also required extra though into mounting; it was decided that a woman's dress stand would fit best, as the modern male mannequins were too large. The torso was padded up to fit the historical vestment; the shoulders were extended using bits of carved, padded ethafoam, the back, breast area, waist and enlarged abdomen were additionally padded. The entire torso was afterwards covered with stretch fabric, tightened so that it would mold into the right shape (Fig. 8).

Conclusion

Apart from mounting the costumes for visual reasons, displaying the period dresses on standing body mannequins was also important from a visitor/museum experience perspective, as this type of display would provide the historical context in which the garments would have originally been worn. Constructing the mannequins to match the individual conservation requests for every piece of garment provided different levels of support for the costumes and, at the same time, diverse visual understanding from the visitors. The result was an optimum display for the museum object and an appropriate representation of the costume's silhouette, showing the shifts and restrictions of fashion during a specific period, using the commercially available, cheap dress stands and mannequins.

[5] Pendergast, Pendergast 2004, 517.

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Fig. 1. Archaeological dress, late seventeenth century (Colecția MNIT, nos. F 18609, F 18610, F 18479, and F18432; image from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 2. Silk and metal threads brocade dress, mid eighteenth century (Colecția MNIT, nos. F 5820, F 5821, and F 5821a; image from the MNIT archive).

a.

b.

Fig. 3. a. Corset with stomacher, eighteenth century (Colecția MNIT, nos. F 5760 and F 5761); **b.** the papier-mâché half-bust form (images from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 4. Silk dress, mid nineteenth century (Colecția MNIT, no. F 5800; image from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 5. Commercially available dress stand, with added under-structures (image from the MNIT archive).

a. b.

Fig. 6. a. Commercially available dress stand, carved to fit the object on display; **b.** the dress stand, carved to fit the object on display (images from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 7. Commercially available dress stand, with adder horizontal structures (image from the MNIT archive).

Fig. 8. Commercially available dress stand, adjusted to fit the object on display (image from the MNIT archive).

Portrait of Countess Ottilia Wass, reproduced in ETF 96/1938.

REVIEWS

Ghizela COSMA, *Din istoria Clujului la feminin. Crochiuri biografice* [The Women of Cluj. Biographical Sketches], Casa Cărții de Știință Publishing, Cluj-Napoca, 2019, pp. 268, ISBN 978–606-17–1555-8.

Reviewed by ALEXANDRA JURESCHI*

This volume, printed by Casa Cărții de Știință Publishing, reflects the author's desire to bring a historiographical contribution to the social, cultural, artistic and political history of Cluj, from a feminine perspective rendered through the stories of important personalities from recent past. Ghizela Cosma presents in her book an informed perspective on the female personalities in Cluj-Napoca, setting chronologically her analysis from the second half of the nineteenth century until the Second World War.

I can associate the author's interest in this research topic with her professional background. Since the beginning of her academic career, she had a keen interest in female participation in the political or social life. In addition to this volume, the author published the book *Femeile și politica în România: evoluția dreptului de vot în perioada interbelică* ['Women and Politics in Romania. The Evolution of the Right to Vote in the Inter-war Period'] (Presa Universitară Clujeană Publishing, Cluj-Napoca 2002.), and a year later, in 2003, she coordinated a two–Volume collective work entitled *Condiția femeii în România în secolul XX* ['The Condition of Women in Romania in the Twentieth Century'] (Presa Universitară Clujeană Publishing, Cluj-Napoca 2003). Therefore, this volume of biographical sketches complements her previous research in the history of women that once analyzed from the perspective of political emancipation (winning of the right to vote), it is completed with the analysis of various social processes, through which women engage in cultural, social and professional life. In the foreground, this work brings a contribution of knowledge to the local history of Cluj that stands out through civic involvement, social activism, and literary, artistic or professional talent.

The main methodological means consider the sources used by the author. For drafting up the book, she used the fund of books about the local history held by Octavian Goga County Library in Cluj-Napoca, and also periodicals such as the *Anuarul Universității din Cluj Cluj*, *Clujul Creștin*, and *Cosânzeana*. At the same time, the key concepts the author uses such as social history, the promotion of local history, feminism, the evolution of women in the Cluj society, contribute to the desideratum of this work, that of enriching the cultural spectrum of Cluj. Regarding the methods of analysis, the main technique used is identified in the subtitle of the paper, namely the use of sketches, or biographical sketches. Thus, by reconstructing the biographies of some women who stood out in different cultural or professional areas, by using the human perspective, the author brings to light the social and the feminist dimension of inter-war Cluj. Like a skilled detective, she reconstructs the past and nuances the way in which women have chosen to exploit their potential over time, becoming good researchers, lawyers, writers, journalists, or artists.

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The volume opens with the author's note highlighting her work's desideratum, as well as the main purposes of analyzing the local social history and enriching the book fund. The introductory chapter, entitled *Mecenat* ['Patronage'], captures the essence of this book, namely the fact that behind the various personal stories the reader discovers the unique features of the early twentieth-century Cluj. The readers find out, through the story of the chapter's protagonist, Countess Ottilia Wass, that the feminine Cluj society had different faces: it could be cheerful and ordinary, it lived through stories, dance and laughter but at the same time, in the homes of female personalities, complex topics of social interest were debated, such as literature, politics, and new developments in culture. The readers are informed that the countess, who was a protector of arts, literature, and sciences, bequeathed significant donations to the Transylvanian Museum Society. This detail is a noteworthy addition to the history of the people of Cluj and of the places they inhabited.

The book is composed of seven main chapters, each divided into subchapters and introduced chronologically. The latter are titled after the names of female personalities who stood out in a given field, and who contributed to their advance and materialization. Moreover, the analysis of their life stories is used as a pretext to explain various significant events of those times. The first chapter, called *Activism social, politic* ['Social and Political Activism'], tells the story of celebrities such as Anna Pop, the first president of the Gathering of Romanian Women in Cluj [*Reuniunea Femeilor române din Cluj*], who was a model of social commitment in the religious field, or charity. It is known that she was a supporter of the national, social, and artistic ideal. In her family's house George Barițiu, Ion Rațiu, B. P. Hașdeu debated ideas and, during some literary evenings, George Coșbuc read his first poems in front of an audience. Also related to this chapter I can also mention: Baroness Karola Bornemisza, a cultured person, who spoke five foreign languages. She was noted for her libertine spirit, freely expressing her opinion on equal rights for women, as well as admiration for the suffragettes. During the First World War she contributed to the collection of aid for children, and to providing care of children. As a result, she was bestowed the Order of Elisabeth [*Der Elisabeth-Orden*], I Degree. Another feminine figure is Livia Deciu. In 1914, she became a history and geography teacher in Budapest. Later on, she was a member of the teaching staff of the first Romanian Greek-Catholic School, meant to train teachers. The name of Sofia Meteș is also linked to the field of social activism. During the inter-war period, she actively participated in the activities organized by the Cluj branch of The Gathering of Orthodox Women [*Reuniunea femeilor ortodoxe*]. This organization was founded in Bucharest by Alexandrina Cantacuzino and its activities aimed to support the cultural and educational development of children from a religious and national point of view.

To summarize the main themes approached in the book, the rest of the chapters are entitled: *Educație, știință* ['Education, Science'], *Pioniere în meserii: medicină, avocatură,* ['Pioneers in Professions: Medicine, Law'] *Artele spectacolului* ['Performing Arts'], *Literatură, presă* ['Literature, Media'], *Pictură. Sculptură* ['Painting. Sculpture']. Next, the author Ghizela Cosma used the stories of the female personalities to show how the personal and unique destiny of these remarkable women merged into the collective destiny of the cultural space, places, and events in Cluj Napoca.

Using the analysis of the biographies of these important women, and especially of their personal experiences, Ghizela Cosma reconstructs fragments of the evolution of a

specific educational or scientific branch, telling the reader about their life and personalities. For example, Elena Negru held a Ph.D. in medicine and surgery, initially acting as a mentor at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj. In the field of exact sciences, the name of Iren Julia Dienes-Gotz is related to research in chemistry, mathematics, and physics. She even managed to receive a scholarship in the laboratory led by Marie Curie.

Regarding the chapter entitled *Performing Arts*, the actress Olimpia Alexandra Bârsan is also mentioned. She was a young woman who chose an artistic career and studied at the School of Fine Art in Bucharest. At the beginning of the twentieth century, she performed on the stage of the National Theater in Bucharest. In the end, her talent was rewarded with a scholarship in Paris.

In the field of *literature and media*, Baroness Polixena Wesselenyi stood out. She traveled for a long period of time. After she returned home, she developed a social sensitivity, and also a profound critical attitude. Thus, she wanted put into writing her thoughts on travelling abroad. As a result, she published in Cluj the work *Călătorie italiană și elvețiană* ['Italian and Swiss Travel'], the first travelogue written and published in Hungarian by a woman. Another personality who stood out in the press was Maria Kasterska Sergescu. She studied at the Sorbonne University, and then she worked as a cultural journalist for publications such as *Revue de France*, *Fontaine* etc. After marrying a Romanian mathematician, she followed him to Romania. She became involved in the activity of literary circles and she submitted her works to publications such as *Mișcarea Literară*. Her family settled in Cluj, where Maria collaborated with the company *Calendarul Femeii* ['The Woman's Calendar']. Thus, she published articles in, for instance, *Femeia și literatura* ['The Woman and the Literature']. At the same time, the reader can get acquainted with Sanda I. Mateiu, who supported the publication of the first magazine for women in Romanian. *Lumina Femeii* ['The Woman's Light'] issued in Cluj-Napoca.

The last chapter of the book, dealing with the *artistic world*, especially painting and sculpture, presents the fruitful career of talented women. In this regard, the painter Amalia Berde had exhibitions throughout the country and a long artistic career. She was involved in charitable activities and was a member of the Society of Reformed Women in Cluj [*Societății Femeilor Reformate din Cluj*].

Thus, the volume fulfills authentically the purpose of highlighting various instances of a valuable past, rendered with the help of these biographical sketches. In comparison to the volume titled *Condiția femeii în România în secolul XX*, in which research is conducted on women's groups and associations, as well as on an overview of women's involvement, the present work pinpoints the individual side of each female personality whose destiny, once presented, contributes to a general outline of a specific field of historical research. In conclusion, Ghizela Cosma manages to explore and narrate, with diligence and lucidity, the destinies of women who were pioneers in their own field of activity. Through their role, they contributed substantially to the evolution of the feminist movement, and helped to develop a process that manifested itself organically and led to the emancipation of women as part of all cultural, social, or political areas.

The book can be read as a monographic view of the city of Cluj-Napoca or as a concise lecture about women, it can also have a educational purpose or it can be an interesting and relaxing way of finding out new aspects about the recent past.

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Felix OSTROVSHI, *Zidire și devenire. Cartierele Clujului în anul 1937* [Building and Becoming. The Districts of Cluj in 1937], Salgo Press, Sibiu, 2020, pp. 287, ISBN 978–606-026–016-5

Reviewed by MIHAI CHIȘ*

Felix Ostrovschi's book proposes a foray into the interwar Cluj, focusing on the spring-summer of 1937, just two years before the start of the Second World War and three years before the Vienna Diktat. The author does not aim to make a political history of Cluj-Napoca, but a *petite histoire* of all the people, regardless of their social or economic differences. The manner in which the issue is addressed is interesting. Felix Ostrovschi chose to use a lot of articles published in the newspaper *Națiunea Română* in order to introduce the reader into the atmosphere of that time, through the gateways provided by the 37 chapters of his book. Thus, three journalists, namely Emil Boșca-Mălin (Milu Mălin), Valentin Strava, and Horia Strava are entrusted with guiding the audience through the districts of Cluj-Napoca of the year 1937 with the help of their reports. They present numerous archetypes of people, buildings, and institutions, as well as the mentality, way of life and occupations of Cluj at that time.

The journey in this volume begins at the outskirts of Cluj. Thus, the journalists start their investigation in the northern part of the city, in the Iris and *Bulgari* districts (present-day Bulgaria), from where they will move south, to the *Sinuța* district (today Zorilor district), and then head west to the *Între Ape* district (in the Splaiul Independenței area). The journalists mentioned above introduce us to the world of slums and their inhabitants, exposing the dearth and poverty of the people living in those areas, but also their way of life. The audacious investigation of the journalists who ventured in such places is viewed with suspicion by the locals, who most often consider them propagandists. This illustrates the periphery's lack of trust in the center. The people who dwell on the outskirts of the city believe, as one of them actually confessed, 'that all the bad things come from there. We know that...' Through this exploration of slums, we are exposed to the realities of those times in some areas of Cluj: lack of sewerage or pavements, lack of schools or churches, lack of public lighting, extreme poverty, ostracization of certain social categories (such as the gypsies in *Bulgari* district), poor sanitation and high crime rates.

Journalists also stopped in districts where urban planning rules were observed, but where certain shortcomings could nonetheless be noticed. Here we can mention, for example, Andrei Mureșanu district, a cozy neighborhood that was full of villas built in modern style, where there was asphalt in the streets, proper sewerage, drinking water, and public lighting, but where it was still necessary to build a Romanian school. At the same time, we can mention Grigorescu district, where the rules of urban planning were observed, a quiet, clean and well-organized neighborhood. This was due, most likely, to the fact that the residence of the former mayor of Cluj, Victor Deleu, was situated there.

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The last stop took place in the center of Cluj-Napoca, a place that seemed from another world compared to life on the outskirts of the city. This marked the transition from a shabby, undeveloped and unsanitary space, dominated by poverty and crime, to what journalists used to call the 'asphalt heart of Cluj.' The reader is thus presented with the bustling, yet stylish world of Cluj. The deafening noises, the myriads of cars, taxis, and drivers, the blinding neon lights, the crowded streets, and the jam-packed restaurants were the reality of downtown Cluj at that time. Restaurants were the crucial element, as people gathered here to party, chat, have a good time, socialize, or even discuss politics. This made restaurants the equivalent of the taverns on the periphery, where the same activities took place. The center thus became the perfect gathering place for officials, the wealthy people, and sometimes the students, in a word, the 'people of quality' in the city. They animated its streets every night with their discussions and games. It also represented the ideal place for hearing the latest news or rumors, the atmosphere always being animated by different artists, traveling salesmen or *dames de compagnie*. Every evening ended the same way. At dawn, the last party people were driven out by the waiters and put into either a taxi or a carriage to transport them home. The center thus remained empty and could enjoy some rest until noon, when it was again full of cars and city dwellers.

This journey takes us from the outskirts of the city, a site of poverty, suffering, and shortcomings, to the center of the city, represented by a world of extravagance, waste, and excesses. At the same time, we are offered a series of portraits of the inhabitants of Cluj: from the commoners living on the periphery, people who made their grievances heard thanks to journalists' investigations but who thanked the divinity for whatever they had, to the life of the inhabitants of the center, a life full of vices and exuberance. The latter seemed to live in a world of their own and refused to look beyond the well-established boundaries of the 'notable world' of the city, thus also refusing to see the sufferings of those who lived outside this 'bubble of perfection' that included Unirii Square, Memorandumului St. or Regele Ferdinand St.

The volume also presents other interesting aspects of life in Cluj-Napoca in the late 1930s. A first element is the multi-ethnic character of the city. Although the city was an important center where both Hungarian and Romanian culture lived side by side, the distinct elements would in some cases express an open rivalry between the two populations. This could best be observed on the periphery, where there were separate taverns for the Romanians or the Hungarians. At the same time, in Iris district the rivalry was even more heated, as one of the inhabitants stated that 'All Hungarians, but absolutely all of them are Communists.'

A second element was the ideological confrontation and the way people related to political life. An interesting case was found in Iris district, where a large part of the believers belonged to the Tertiary Association (the association of the third monastic order of St. Francis of Assisi), while women were enrolled in the Society of Saint Mary, an association that was responsible for feeding a fairly large number of children of workers. These associations were created to combat the danger of communist propaganda, which looked for followers in the slums. Another case was that of the discussion between journalist Milu Mălin and Ion Vereș from the Someșeni area. Mr. Vereș was a convinced liberal and refused any counter-argument of the journalist, whose political views sided with the National

Peasants' Party. Ioan Vereș was to justify his choice simply by the fact that, in his opinion, this party had done nothing to benefit him since the end of the war, while the Liberals ensured the connection to electricity and the construction of an aqueduct in the area he was living in.

One last interesting aspect is the last chapter of the volume, which contains a compilation of the life stories of different people from Cluj. Among these we can recall an old man's tragic story of over 5,000 love letters, a life story of a gentleman who was a major in the army and had traveled to numerous foreign countries (Great Britain, France, Germany, etc.), and who had eventually arrived in Cluj. The full story, along with many others, such as stories about student life (and how it could leave you penniless in Cluj), about student collegiality, about innovative methods of passing a complicated exam, about love or infidelity and much more, all these can be found in Ostrovschi's book.

In conclusion, I believe that Felix Ostrovschi's volume is a true history of 'the little ones.' The fact that he chooses to guide the reader into the world and mentality of Cluj of 1937 through articles published in the newspaper *Națiunea Română* gives this volume an air of high authenticity. At the same time, it makes the text easy to understand also by those who are not specialists in the field of history. Thus, anyone who peruses this volume could venture into the places described by the three journalists to observe their evolution from the interwar period to the present. This volume is the result of an impressive research conducted by the author, who managed to select, organize, and present to the reader a very rich and highly accessible historical material.

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Felix OSTROVSCHI, *Faptul divers în Clujul interbelic: Trăire și simțire, prin presa vremii* [‘Talk of the Town’ The random fact in Interwar Cluj: Living and Feeling through the Periodicals of the Times], Salgo Press, Sibiu, 2020, pp. 299, ISBN 978–606-026–006-6.

Reviewed by ANDREI-DUMITRU OLTEANU*

When a historian analyzes the society of a city from the interwar period, he can identify and then use means of expressing the feelings of that society. Felix Ostrovschi is such a historian and his approach to the society of Cluj in the interwar period is an exemplary one. Over time, Ostrovschi has published various articles in the periodicals of Cluj-Napoca regarding the life of the people of Cluj between the two World Wars, including: *Clujul văzut din Cafeneaua New-York* [‘Cluj Seen from the New-York Café’] in *Clujul Cultural* and *Fenomenul Pitești sau experimentul reeducării* [‘The Pitești Phenomenon or the Re-education Experiment’] in *Memoria. Revista gândirii arestate*.

This book, entitled *Faptul divers în Clujul interbelic: Trăire și simțire, prin presa vremii*, was published by Salgo Press in Sibiu in 2020, with Ioan Părean as editor. The structure of this book is divided into eleven chapters, with an introduction and a conclusion. The title of the work provides an insight into the content of the book in terms of chronological and spatial approach and the main objectives pursued by the author. At a first glance, the title element that stands out and impels the reader to discover what the author means is the notion of ‘random facts.’ Thus, to avoid leaving his reader hovering in suspense, Felix Ostrovschi presents the goal of his book in an all-encompassing introduction. The author defines a ‘random fact’ as an element that breaks the social pattern, draws the attention of the public and has a large number of participants, but the importance of using ‘random facts’ in this work is the link the author establishes with the periodicals of the interwar period. Felix Ostrovschi selects activities in which the Cluj society engaged, activities that are reflected in the press articles that were published in the interwar period and beyond. He outlines them in chapters whose titles are reminiscent of various features, functions, actions or fields that were specific to the Cluj society in the above-mentioned period. Random facts, in the author’s view, must contain five essential elements: ‘who or which?,’ ‘when?,’ ‘where?,’ ‘how?’ and ‘why?’ These elements of the ‘random facts’ type of articles give ‘their precise form, for the accuracy of information and... for the tragic nature of the circumstances described.’ In fact, ‘talk-of-the-town’ articles are entertaining, they are addressed to readers who want to find information about health, caricatures, animal care, domestic life, etc.

The author uses the literature to define the methodology he resorted to in his work. Random facts attract ‘curious readers in search of the sensational,’ they are translated into ‘short stories and novellas’ in newspapers. The author adds to the aforementioned topics addressed in ‘talk-of-the-town’ articles other topics typically approached in newspapers,

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such as fear, murder, burglaries, robberies, suicides, accidents, political life, alcoholism, adultery and the church. Felix Ostrovschi claims that these topics build an inventory of everyday life, but one that is 'limited to providing information.' At the same time, each topic attracts the reader's attention and has the necessary features to arouse his curiosity and to inform him about a particular reported case. For example, the topic of accidents has all the necessary features that can arouse the pleasure of insecurity.

The main elements that the author wants to define in the introduction so as to outline the motivations underlying his work are the importance of journalism and the written press in characterizing the mentality of a historical period. That is why Ostrovschi appeals to authors such as Dominique Kalifa and his approach to 'random facts during the war' in which France was involved in 1870–1914 and uses newspapers that relate various stories, subsequently analyzing them by putting them in a historical context. The newspapers used in this work are mostly from Transylvania and Cluj, but we also find some publications from Bucharest, such as *Universul*, *Dimineața*, and *Ilustrațiunea Română*.

In order to be able to accurately present the concept of 'random facts' as seen by the author, I will resort to the example of two chapters in his book, which I consider to be relevant for the author's perspective.

Chapter 5, entitled *Frumusețe și modă* ['Beauty and Fashion'], perfectly emphasizes, like all the other chapters in his work, Cluj society, its moral values and topics of interest from the interwar period. The article *Importurile de plete* ['Imports of Tresses'] published in the newspaper *Patria* on 25 November 1919 uses long hair fashion in men as a means of characterizing the views of a certain social category on various important events, such as the entry of the Romanian army into Budapest. Another article, printed this time in the newspaper *Vipera*, published in Lugoj in February 1926, concerns the so-called 'kept women' [*întreținute*]. The author of the article tries to define a certain typology of women by giving her different roles, focusing on different geographical areas and assessing their role in society. The third article, titled *Moda și politețea* ['Fashion and Politeness'], appeared in the newspaper *Universul* in September 1930. In the article, the author uses fashion as a pretext for changing the behavior of women before and after the First World War. The article also includes expert opinions on the causes of behavioral change in women due to fashion. By inserting these articles together with images related to their topics, Felix Ostrovschi provides an overview of the opinion that Romanian society or a part of that society had about fashion and its role in the evolution of civilization.

It is worth noting that the author showcases a variety of approaches to different cases pertaining to specific social categories by juxtaposing the different views of the authors of those articles.

As regards Chapter 2, *Clujul în zi de sărbătoare* ['Cluj on a Festive Day'], Felix Ostrovschi casts a very interesting perspective on miscellaneous aspects of holidays in the Cluj region. The chronological layout of the articles and their topics led me to create three sections based on articles that highlight the evolution of the media perspective on a topic, according to the political regime in which the newspaper was published. The first section contains articles such as *Cu Suveranii prin Ardeal. Note și impresii* ['With the Sovereign through Transylvania. Notes and Impressions'], published in the newspaper *Dimineața* in

June 1919 and *Crăciun la Cotroceni. Ce a primit micul Rege* [‘Christmas in Cotroceni. The Presents the Young King Received’], published in the same newspaper in December 1928.

The first article describes the visit of King Ferdinand and Queen Maria to Cluj. The narrative highlights the feelings of happiness of the audience that welcomed the monarchs. The second article depicts the royal family in a more familiar environment. The author of the article humanizes the Royal House, describing the gifts bestowed upon the prince regent, the gifts of Queen Maria and the attention to the gifts received by the ‘child-king’ Michael. The two articles belong to the ‘talk-of-the-town’ category because of the high level of attention attributed to both society and the press, to the activities carried out by the royal family, ordinary activities whereby the aura of the royal family acquires public importance.

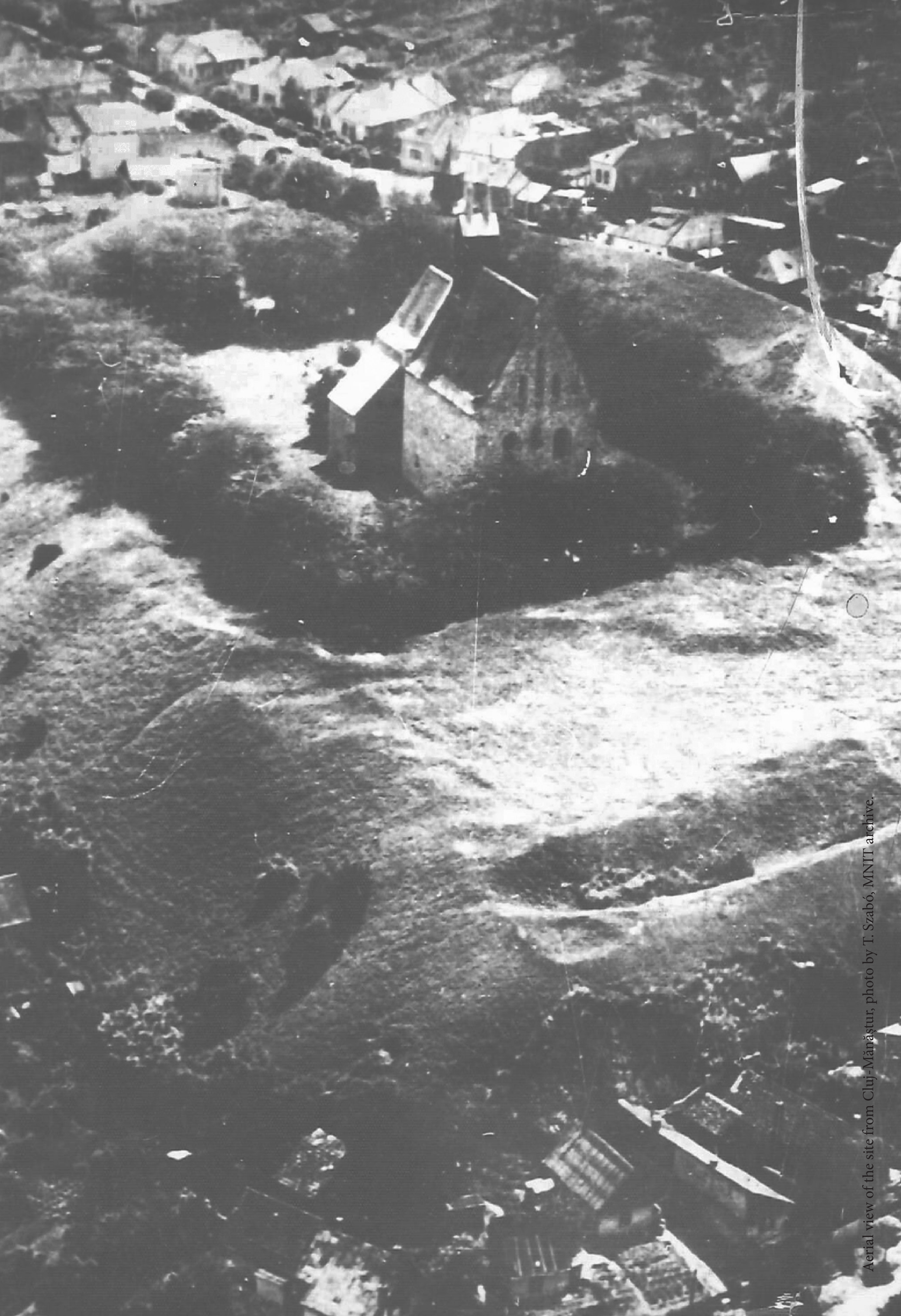
The second section contains an article entitled *Ardealul în Sărbătoare. Marile festivități de la Cluj în prezența M.S. Regelui* [‘Joyful Transylvania. The Great Festivities Held in Cluj in Honor of H.M. the King’], published in the newspaper *Universul* in March 1945. The article contextualizes the regime change and the way in which the population of Transylvania received King Michael after the power-holders in Bucharest assumed leadership of the region.

The last section covers three articles published in the newspaper *Făclia* in different periods: *Marea demonstrație a oamenilor muncii de 1 Mai din Cluj* [‘The great demonstration of the workers on May 1 in Cluj’], published in May 1957; *Sărbătoarea în pădurea Hoia* [‘The feast in the Hoia Forest’], in May 1958; *La cea de a 50-a sărbătorire a Zilei internaționale a femeii* [‘At the 50th anniversary of the International Women’s Day’], in March 1960. Thus, in the author’s view, by exploring these articles, the reader can notice mutations registered in the media’s attention to holidays as ‘random facts.’ At the same time, the newspapers of the communist period show a change of vision on random facts, from the perspective of both Cluj society and the press. Also, worth noting is the use of photos from the original articles, which preserve an authentic image of the new social mentality.

In writing this chapter, the author reiterates the theoretical examples he brought to the reader’s attention in the introduction. Thus, the reader acquires a twofold insight into the articles described in this work, focusing both on the way in which the vision of Cluj society on random facts evolved and on the modification of the narrative of the newspapers of that time.

The press articles chosen by Felix Ostrovschi outline an entire social history, in which the experiences and feelings of the Cluj society from the interwar period are captured in articles that highlight random facts. The conclusion reached by the author manages to discern the role of history and that of newspapers, which jointly convey, thanks to the author, an image of interwar Cluj filtered through ‘random facts.’

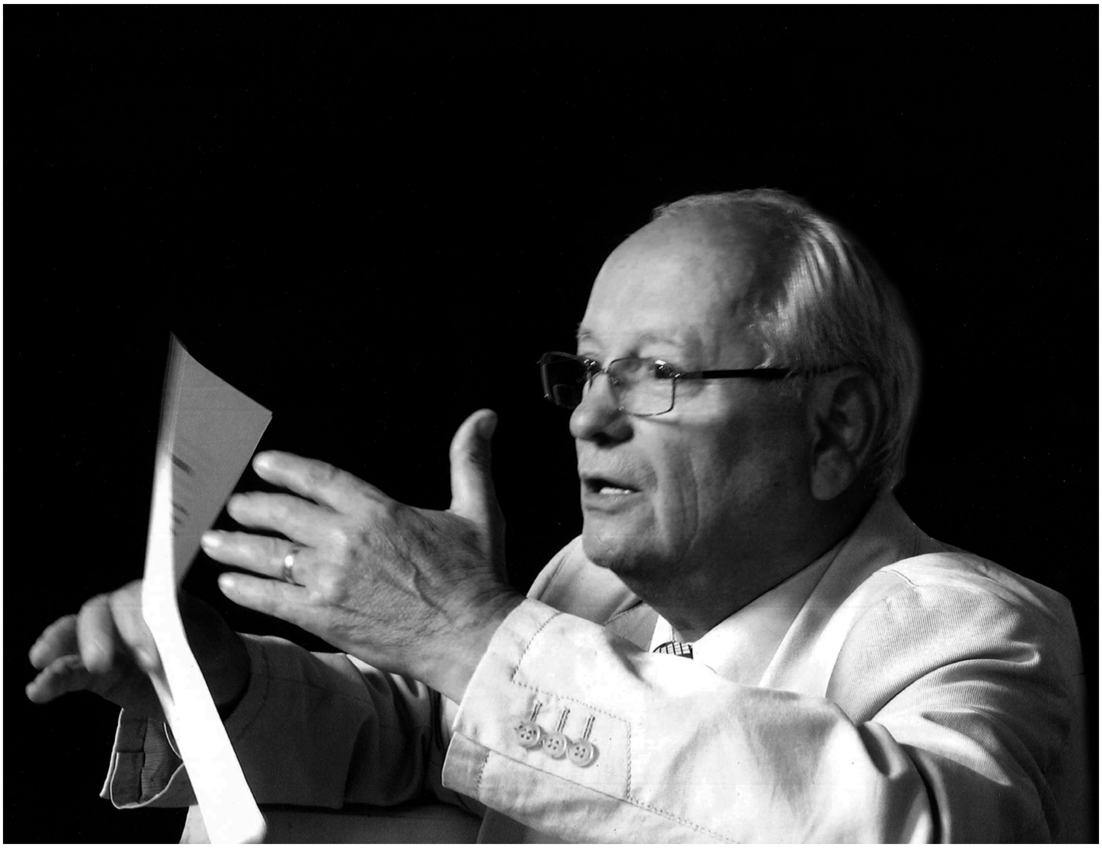
Felix Ostrovschi’s book is very useful to those who want to analyze the interwar period in Cluj through the lens of periodicals, having the opportunity to find much more easily material of interest classified according to the topic of interest. The author’s merit is not only that of having selected newspaper articles, framed them thematically, and organized them chronologically, but also that of having created a social history or a history of the mentalities of Cluj society by using the written press as a tool. Thanks to the author, today we have not only an anthology of texts but also a work commemorating the mindset of Cluj society regarding random facts that were so important to the citizens of the interwar period.



Aerial view of the site from Cluj-Mănăştur, photo by T. Szabó, MNIT archive.

IN MEMORIAM

ŞTEFAN MATEI (1937–2020)



On 24 June 2020, our kind and beloved colleague and director Ştefan Matei passed away. He was born in the beautiful Transylvanian village of Aşchileul Mare, Cluj County, on 23 February 1937, in the Matei family, called 'a Rifului', as the third of four sons brought into the world by the late Maria and Ioan Matei, well-respected people in their village community.

After finishing school in the village, the young Ştefan, who would take pride in his family and his native place for the rest of his life, set off to Cluj to further his education as he had already proved he was very keen on learning. He graduated from the Classical High School and then attended the Faculty of History at the University of Cluj. Two were his great passions in his student years: archaeology and art history. His prodigious teachers, academics Constantin Daicoviciu and Virgil Vătăşianu, found in their young disciple a faithful and devoted researcher of the mysteries of the past throughout his scientific career. His personal qualities and the prestigious school he attended with passion and talent propelled him among the most competent and respected members of the academia. This led him to his judicious resolutions in situations that were very entangled and difficult to clarify, given the passage of centuries over the archaeological or architectural sites he investigated.

In his professional career at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj-Napoca and, since 1975, at the Museum of Transylvanian History, Ştefan Matei conducted research on archaeological and architectural research sites in Transylvania and the Banat, such as Suatu (Cluj County), Dâbâca (Cluj County), Cluj-Mănăştur, Sarmizegetusa (Hunedoara County), Ilidia (Caraş-Severin County), Pescari (Caraş-Severin County), Mehadia, or Cenad (Timiş County).

He graphically reconstructed the fortress of Pescari, the church of Ilidia village, the tower of Mehadia, the palisade of Calvaria fortress and many others. Most of his research findings were communicated at the symposium *In memoriam Constantini Daicovici* and were subsequently published.

The research carried out in these archaeological sites were subject to major themes regarding the fortified settlements in Transylvania and Banat during early feudalism, and his contributions were published in academic journals and volumes and presented at numerous symposiums and scientific sessions. He was also present in the exhibition halls of numerous events organized by the Museum of Transylvanian History countrywide and abroad (Austria, Switzerland, Israel). Between 1990 and 1993, the renowned archaeologist Ştefan Matei also served as director of the Museum of Transylvanian History.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis (Historica), Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	Acta Mvsei Porolissensis, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău.
AHR	The American Historical Review, Journal of the American Historical Association, Oxford University Press.
AICS	Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu.
AIGS	Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane 'Gheorghe Șincai,' Târgu-Mureș.
AIIAC	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIC Historica	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'George Barițiu', Series Historica, Cluj-Napoca.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology. American Association of Physical Anthropologists, John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ, USA.
AJS	American Journal of Sociology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
AM J HUM BIOL	American Journal of Human Biology. Official Journal of the Human Biology Association. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ, USA.
Antiquity	Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology. Department of Archaeology at the Durham University.
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia.
Almanahul Literar	Almanahul Literar al Uniunii Scriitorilor din RPR, filiala Cluj.
AMH	The American Historical Review, American Historical Association, Pittsburgh.
Archaeol. hist.	Archaeologia historica. Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, Brno.
Archiva Moldavia	Archiva Moldaviae, Societatea de Studii Istorice din România, Iași.
Ars Hungarica	Ars Hungarica, Az MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet folyóirata, Budapest.
BAM	Brukenthal Acta Musei, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu.
Biharea	Biharea, Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
BSUMK	Buletin Științific al Universității 'Mihail Kogălniceanu,' Iași.
Caiete de antropologie istorică	Caiete de antropologie istorică, Catedra de Istorie Modernă. Universitatea 'Babeș-Bolyai', Cluj-Napoca.

Carpica	Carpica. Culegere de Studii şi Comunicări, Complexul Muzeal 'Iulian Antonescu' din Bacău.
CCA	Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, CIMEC.
Centropa	Centropa: a journal of central European architecture and related arts, New York.
Childhood in the Past	Childhood in the Past. Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past.
CI	Cercetări istorice, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iaşi.
Cosânzeana	Cosânzeana, Orăștie.
CS	Caiete Silvane, revistă de cultură, Centrul de Cultură şi Artă a Județului Sălaj, Zalău.
Democrația	Democrația. Revista Cercului de Studii al Partidului Național-Liberal, București.
Dental Anthropology	Dental Anthropology. A Publication of the Dental Anthropology Association.
Die Karpathen	Die Karpathen. Halbmonatsschrift für Kultur und Leben, Kronstadt.
Drapelul	Drapelul, București.
Gazeta de Duminecă	Gazeta de Duminecă, Șimleu Silvaniei.
Gazeta Transilvaniei	Gazeta Transilvaniei, Brașov.
Ecclesia	Ecclesia. Studia z Dziejów Wielkopolski, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
Ellenzék	Ellenzék, Kolozsvár.
Erdélyi Múzeum	Erdélyi Múzeum. Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Bölcsészet-, Nyelv-, Történettudományi, valamint Jog-, Közgazdaság- és Társadalomtudományi Szakosztályának közlönye, Kolozsvár.
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Folklore	Folklore. Journal of The Folklore Society, Taylor & Francis.
History Today	History Today, London.
Hungarian Review	Hungarian Review, Budapest.
Hungarian Studies	Hungarian Studies, Journal of the International Association of Hungarian Studies, Budapest.
Idea. Artă + societate	Idea. Artă + societate, IDEA Design & Print, Cluj-Napoca.
International Affairs	International Affairs, Oxford University Press, Royal Institute of International Affairs.
International Organization	International Organization, Cambridge University Press.
Int. J. Osteoarchaeol.	International Journal of Osteoarchaeology. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ, USA.
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza.
J. Archaeol. Sci.	Journal of Archaeological Science, Elsevier.

J. Archaeol. Sci. Rep.	Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports, Elsevier.
J. Ethnobiol. Ethnomed.	Journal of ethnobiology and ethnomedicine, BioMed Central, Springer Nature.
J. Theor. Biol.	Journal of Theoretical Biology, Elsevier.
Keleti Újság	Keleti Újság, Kolozsvár.
Keresztény Magvető	Keresztény Magvető, Magyar Unitárius Egyház, Kolozsvár.
Erdélyi Múzeum	Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Bölcsészet-, Nyelv- és Történettudományi, valamint Jog-, Közgazdaság- és Társadalomtudományi Szakosztályainak közlönye, Kolozsvár.
Korall. Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat	Korall. Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat, A Korall Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület, Budapest.
Korunk	*Korunk.* Fórum–Kultúra–Tudomány, Kolozsvár.
Lymbus	Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi Forrásközlemények, Budapest.
Magyar Nép	Magyar Nép, Kolozsvár.
Magyar Régészet	Magyar Régészet / Hungarian Archaeology, E-Journal of the Archaeolingua Foundation, Budapest, http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/.
Magyar Történelmi Tár	Magyar Történelmi Tár. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Történelmi Bizottmány, Budapest.
MAQ	Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalter, Krems.
MCA	Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Oradea and Bucureşti.
Müvészet	Müvészet, Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, Budapest.
Neamul românesc	Neamul românesc, Bucureşti.
New Economy	New Economy, Institute for Public Policy Research, London.
Nyirvidék	Nyirvidék, Nyiregyháza.
Nor. Archaeol. Rev.	Norwegian Archaeological Review, Routledge.
Orvostöténeti Közlemények	Az Országos Orvostörténeti Könyvtár Közleményei/ Communicationes ex Bibliotheca Historiae Medicae Hungarica, Budapest.
Orvostudományi értesítő	Orvostudományi értesítő. EME Értesítő – Népszerű Szak (1879–1889), Kolozsvár.
Patria	Patria, Cluj.
Pediatrics	Pediatrics. Journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics.
PNAS	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America.
REGIO	REGIO. Kisebbség Kultúra Politika Társadalom, MTA TK Kisebbségkutató Intézet, Budapest.
Representation	Representation, University of California Press.
Românul	Românul, Bucureşti.

RRHA	Revue Roumaine d'histoire de l'art. Série Beaux-Arts, Institutul de Istoria Artei 'G. Oprescu' al Academiei Române, București.
SCIA AP	Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Artă plastică, Institutul de Istoria Artei 'G. Oprescu', București.
Sci. Adv.	Science Advances. Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.
SEER	The Slavonic and East European Review, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London.
Social Forces	Social Forces, Oxford University Press, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
Social Science Information	Social Science Information, Sage Journals.
Societatea de mâine	Societatea de mâine, Cluj.
Steaua	Steaua, Revista Uniunii Scriitorilor din Republica Populară Română, Cluj-Napoca.
Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis	Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis. A Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológia Kutatóintézetének Kötetei, Kolozsvár.
Studies in Post-Medieval Archaeology	Studies in Post-Medieval Archaeology, Archaia, Prague.
SUBB Historia	Studia Universitatis 'Babeș-Bolyai.' Historia, Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie, Universitatea 'Babeș-Bolyai.'
SUCSH	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea 'Lucian Blaga,' Sibiu.
TR	Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Academia Română, Cluj-Napoca.
Transactions RHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, The Royal Historical Society, UK.
Transilvania	Transilvania. Revista lunară, culturală-literară, Organul 'Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român' (ASTRA), Brașov, Sibiu.
Tribuna	Tribuna, săptămânal de cultură, Cluj-Napoca.
VjesnikAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
VS	Viitorul Social. Revistă lunară de doctrină, cultură și politică socialist, Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România; Comitetul Național de Sociologie; Asociația Română de Științe Politice; Academia de Partid pentru Învățământul Social-Politic (Romania), București.
Zeitenblicke	Zeitenblicke (e-journal), Ministerium für Innovation, Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Köln.
Ziarul Libertatea	Ziarul Libertatea, Orăștie.
ZfSL	Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde e. V. Heidelberg.